

benoy ghose

SELECTIONS FROM
ENGLISH PERIODICALS
OF 19TH CENTURY BENGAL

IV

THE HINDOO PATRIOT.

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY MORNING.

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NUMBER 6.

SHOWANPORE IN THE SUBURBS OF CALCUTTA.—THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1857.

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WEEKLY REGISTER OF INTELLIGENCE

THURSDAY, THE 29th JANUARY 1857.

THE PATRIOT, a religious newspaper published in England (as extracted in the *Print of India*) says, speaking of the expense incurred in bringing out the *Reverend Mr. Underhill's* pamphlet, "the copying Vakeels who cultivate the noble art of writing large and wide, contrived to spread the disposition over more than two hundred stamped sheets. As a curious example of proficiency in this species of hockery, it is stated that the evidence of Mahesh alias, costing 15 rupees, constitutes a roll 21 feet long and 81 inches wide, written on 19 stamped sheets, containing only 400 lines, mostly running only half across, and each occupying in depth nearly two-thirds of an inch. It is not worth while to correct the error that Vakeels are copying clerks, but as with English newspapers here and published that the clerks would be flayed by the government officials if they wrote closer or smaller, and that the revenue from the sale of stamps as well as the delivery attached to belongs to government.

THE PATRIOT IN INDIA, valuing the HINDOON'S opinion on the matter, says: "The people, properly treated, would certainly natives from the bench altogether. No one who has not lived among them can appreciate their distrust of their own countrymen." It follows from this that the natives of India never decide their disputes by a *Vakalat* Query—If a man wanted to effect an inheritance of an estate, whom would he have for his HINDOON, a native or a European?

THERE IS A NUMBER current that the native troops at Bortholpore are a state of mutiny, more or less open, in consequence of their having been ordered to make up cartridges with hog's lard. They are putting fire to officers' bagdolans. There is nothing improbable in this rumour.

A CALCUTTA BUSINESS man has succeeded from his commercial engagements in a manner which will necessitate a revision of his affairs in the Indian Court. It may be shown to us to contradict the various statements put forth by officious gossips respecting the course of life recently led by the Baron, and to state that the Baron's embarrassments have been caused by unbusinesslike speculations rather than by the extravagant habits which are generally imputed to have brought them about.

THE ENGLISHMAN mentions a report to the effect that the Hon'ble Mr. Drummond proceeds on furlough for one year, and that he will be succeeded by Mr. Mackintosh as Accountant General; Mr. R. C. Raikes of Dacca taking the latter gentleman's place as Accountant to the Government of Bengal.

THE DELHI VOLUNTARY FUND has amounted to Rs. 58,383 Rs. Of this sum about 20,000 Rs. will go to bring out a statue of the late Governor General. The remainder will be at the disposal of the Committee of the Fund for the foundation of scholarships at the College of Civil Engineering.

THE HINDOON states that a Brahmin of Bortholpore has married a widow under the new law. He is of course prevented by his relatives.

THE RESULT of the operations undertaken in the district of Nuddea for the relief of the sufferers by the late inundations is thus summed up in a correspondence published by the Government of Bengal: The total number of miles of road completed up to 31st December was 112; and the total number of ryots employed was 9,11,775; and the total amount expended Rs. 28,267. It gets stated whether any portion of this money was laid out in the purchase of materials; but assuming that the whole amount was devoted to the remuneration of labourers, we have about seven labourers for the rope

—not a very high rate of wages. The Collector of in the interest of the Sultan's brother, a private Nuddea, however, reports that the ryots were extremely to the advantage. They are, therefore, by all means thankful for the employment they got and appreciated liable to death. But if these laws be enforced, the Sultan's dominions will be visited by English and

FRIDAY, THE 30th JANUARY.

THE ENGLISHMAN states that the Commissioner of Bangoon has recommended to government the extended employment of natives in the administration of the affairs of the province, as rights of inheritance and matrimonial questions which are regulated by the laws of Menu offer form matters for adjudication in the local Courts. We believe they have as Hindoo or Mohammedan law officers in British Burmah; and the Gyong Group know little of Menu's laws.

THE SUNDAY PAPER publishes the letter of instructions issued by the Bengal Government to the Collector of Nuddea for the relief of the sufferers by the inundations in that district. The most noteworthy passage in the letter is that which vests the Collector and his Assistants with the powers of Magistrates and authorizes them to call the aid of the police when necessary.

THE DEPT OF BENGAL yesterday raised its rates two pence out of road. The margin remains as before. We have got the whole of February before us, and the Bank may yet have to take advantage of the late repeal of the money laws.

THE SUPREME COURT lately decided that "a frozen bar the court must be bound by the course of procedure adopted by its counsel or pleaders in the court, that if they, acting in the supposed interest of their clients, think fit, in effect, to waive any objection that might be urged in favor of their clients, such waiver is conclusive as regards the particular suit before the Court, and that no subsequent application for review of judgment made after their counsel or pleaders founded upon the point once waived, can, on any ground of justice or reason, be attended to." This rule, is regarded as well as consistent with the usual tenet of *Vakalat* namahs, but it hardly justified Sir P. Theagaris offering a compromise for his client without specific instructions from his client or his attorney.

A CORRESPONDENT of the ENGLISHMAN states the conduct of the police in excluding from the A. Chandra Garden at the late flower show natives of the most respectable bearing and appearance, and admitting "a lot of stereotypes, drum-beaters and coffee-beaters within their walls." The Police Inspectors did it. If Calcutta Baboos will stand this nonsense, the fault is theirs. Would not half a dozen latrals settle these police rascals and could they not be employed without any body in the world knowing who their employer was?

THE ANTO-JAMBO JOURNAL states that the Rajah of Barwan is among the subscribers to the new five percent loan.

THE REV. MR. DALL, in a speech delivered at the public examination of a Calcutta School, said "the Brahmins have never been educators; on the contrary they have forbidden to the common people the study of the poorest language, the Sanskrit, and the reading of their best books." The Brahmins know too well of the actual requirements of society to think of making every peasant learn Sanskrit; what they did was to organize a society in a form which gave every member of it ample means to learn the duties of his position in life.

THE HINDOON proposes an income or a capitation tax as the only means of relieving the present financial embarrassments of the Indian government. The question will be asked, do the revenues of India really fall short of its expenditures?

THE SECRETARY of Salt has written to the Governor of Bengal complaining of outrages committed by Sikarpoos in his territories and requesting that they be recalled. These Sikarpoos are acting in this way

in the interest of the Sultan's brother, a private Nuddea, however, reports that the ryots were extremely to the advantage. They are, therefore, by all means thankful for the employment they got and appreciated liable to death. But if these laws be enforced, the Sultan's dominions will be visited by English and

SATURDAY, THE 31st JANUARY.
THE ENGLISHMAN publishes some correspondence which proves that situations in the civil service in England are bought and sold. The fact is notorious. The virtuous indignation of these Englishmen who blame the Indian Aukh for selling places in a *Vakalat* remarkable.

THE SUNDAY JOURNAL states that there is a report in the *Dur* to the effect that Candlish has been ordered to the Persians, the governor having been starved out. The report is trustworthy.

THE SUNDAY JOURNAL also states that Mr. G. H. W. P., sub-editor of the *Print of India*, has been ordered to pay a serious fine by the court. Mr. W. P. was one of the first writers on the Indian press who had learnt to write about something else besides government, taxes, customs and domestic occurrences.

THE POST MASTER GENERAL announces that a daily communication by post will be established only once daily between Ellengangee on the Malak and Calcutta as soon as information is received respecting the state of the roads at that place. There is no need to Ellengangee, though not in order preparation to the site of the new post.

MR. WALL of the H. C. M. M. writes to the *Print of India* to complain that he was fined 20 Rs. on a charge of having committed a police man though he brought witnesses to prove that he did not commit the offence. Mr. Wall is extremely surprised at the fact that an Indian magistrate thinks it essential to punish a party to punish every man charged even with speaking disrespectfully to a policeman.

THE MANNAS Board of Revenue do not know what to do with the 18 Deputy Collectors whose appointment has been ordered by the Supreme Government to supply the administrative wants of this presidency. There are twenty-two Collectors, and each Collector to be efficiently offered must have at least three unencumbered Deputy Collectors. The proposition of the Madras Government for sixty or seventy Deputy Collectors was at least as reasonable as Mr. Halliday's proposition for 200 Deputy Magistrates for Bengal.

THE PATRIOT thinks the native community has been disappointed by the Law Commissioners whose proposal for the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sadler Courts promised them great benefits. The natives, according to our contemporary, are not to have the jurisdiction, while they are to be subjected to the Penal Code and the Procedure Codes. We do not believe that the proposed amalgamation or the inclusion of British subjects in the jurisdiction of the Mufussil criminal courts has much longer to be delayed by opposition.

MONDAY, THE 2nd FEBRUARY.

THE ENGLISHMAN publishes the threatened petition of the inhabitants of Calcutta against the proposal for the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sadler. It is a humbly upon the merits of the Calcutta report. The inhabitants of Calcutta have even less cause to complain of the amalgamation than the British residents in the Mufussil. The former will have their causes tried by the same judges who now try them. Yet then the Supreme Court will not be decried.

A CORRESPONDENT of the same journal, writing from Dacca, states that the Commissioner of Patna Division had transferred the *Faujdar* to the *Patna* Division and ordered the *Patna* Division to be transferred to the *Patna* Division. The *Patna* Division is now in the *Patna* Division, but

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OF 19TH CENTURY BENGAL**

VOLUME IV : 1857

Hindoo Patriot , Friend of India ;

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An Apology

A grave error has crept in printing of this volume. Between pages 275 and 288, more precisely from the article entitled "The Native & the Black Act", selections have been culled from *Bengal Hurkaru*, but the folio has continued to be printed as that of the previous paper, viz., *Hindu Intelligencer*.

We request our learned readers to consult the contents kindly, where the error has been rectified. Most humbly we crave indulgence of our readers and regret for committing such an error.

Publishers.

THE MYTH OF 'CLEMENCY CANNING'

We do not know of any other military revolt in the world which has produced such an enormous amount of writings as the 'mutiny' of 1857 in India. Edward Thompson points out in his *The Other Side of the Medal* (London 1925): "Histories of the Mutiny can often be swept aside as second hand compilation. Many others, whether their authors knew the original documents or not, are garbled throughout—their style is question-begging, 'inconsequent, insolently self-righteous.'" This statement is true about a large number of histories and memoirs of British writers. But there are good books also, based on authentic documents and first-hand experiences. The output of contemporary periodical literature on the mutiny, both foreign and Indian, is also massive. We know that Karl Marx also contributed a series of articles on the Indian mutiny from London, to the *New York Daily Tribune*, a radical paper with the largest circulation in America (see Editorial notes). *Illustrated London News* (vols 31-33, 1857-58) and *Punch* (vol 33, 1857) published many interesting articles on the revolt, with photographs and sketches. To this huge quantity of literature may be added the writings in English and Bengali papers, published from Calcutta—*The Englishman*, *The Friend of India*, *The Hindu Intelligencer*, *The Hindoo Patriot* and *Sambad Bhaskar* (Bengali). These writings constitute an important primary source-material for compiling an authentic account of the mutiny.

There is an obvious difference in the presentation, accentuation and interpretation of events during the mutiny, between the writings of Englishmen and our English-educated 'native' gentlemen. It is a difference between the arrogant tone of the rulers and the most submissive tone of the ruled. The much talked of *Hindoo Patriot* (HP), virtually (not formally) edited by Hurish Chunder Mukherjea, is no exception. Scanning the writings on mutiny in HP, one feels that Hurish Mukherjea was more a vociferous 'Canningite' than even a whispering sympathiser of the mutineers. In 1857-58 Hurish

filled the columns of *HP* for conjuring up the myth of 'Clemency Canning.' In later years, till his unfortunate and untimely death in 1861, he wrote against the tyranny of the Indigo-planters. But there were serious limitations even in his sympathy for the indigo-ryots. We shall go into it in detail in the editorial of the next volume of *Selecions*, which covers this period.

It may be mentioned here in passing that Hurish was not a lone fighter for the cause of the indigo-ryots in 1860-61. There were many others with him, of his social class, among writers and journalists, who fought against the 'Indigo-planters' inhuman oppression. But what could be the 'miracle' which changed the social situation to such an extent, and within a span of two years after the mutiny, that those who condemned outright the rebels of 1857-58 as social rabble, suddenly sought solace in sympathising with the cause of the indigo-ryots? And all this during the rule of the same 'Clemency Canning'? That is the question.

Mangal Pandey, the first martyr

Ramgopal Sanyal has written a short biographical account of Hurish Chunder in English and Bengali. Like Kissory Chand Mitra, he has also written such brief accounts of other 'Bengal celebrities' of the nineteenth century. Both Sanyal and Mitra were adepts in writing such short biographical accounts of 'Bengal celebrities' whenever occasion arose, in a casual manner, without sorting and looking into facts carefully. Regarding Hurish's writings on mutiny, Sanyal has written: "Hurish Chunder first wrote on the subject in the *Hindoo Patriot* of the 21st May 1857." But between February and 21 May 1857, at least six important articles appeared in *HP*, all of which, it seems from the style of writing, were written by Hurish. On the mutiny at Barrackpore, *HP* wrote on 5 February 1857, "the native troops at Barrackpore are in a state of mutiny, more or less open, the consequence of their having been ordered to make up cartridges with hog's lard. They are putting fires to officers' bungalows." At the end of March 1857, there

was a serious outbreak of revolt in Barrackpore Cantonment. On 29 March, one of the private of the 34th regiment, named Mangal Pandey, seized his musket, left his hut, and calling upon his comrades to follow him, ordered the bugler to sound the assembly, and fired his musket at a European sergeant-major, who arrived there to quell the disturbance. Lieutenant Baugh galloped to the place, and was fired at by Mangal Pandey, the shot hitting the horse. A hand-to-hand fight took place, in which the lieutenant was wounded, and would most probably have been killed if a sepoy had not seized Pandey, and held him till the officer got away (see Editorial notes).

All this took place within a few yards of the quarter-guard, where a 'native' non-commissioned officer and twenty men were on guard. Hearing the firing, a large number of excited sepoys rushed to the spot, but except one, no man moved to help his officer or to arrest the mutineer Pandey, and some even struck the lieutenant, when wounded, on the ground. As the news of the revolt spread, General Hearsey, with several officers proceeded to the spot where Pandey was marching up and down with his musket in hand. As he was surrounded and approached by officers, Mangal turned his musket upon himself and fell wounded. He was lifted quickly and taken to hospital, where he recovered. Both he and the native officer-in-charge of the guard were tried by court-martial, and hanged before all the troops in garrison. Mangal Pandey was hanged on 8 April and the native officer on 22 April, 1857. "Mangal Pandey fully deserves the honour of the first martyr which posterity has given to him" (R. C. Majumdar). He is the *first* martyr of the *first* Indian war of independence.

The Myth of 'Clemency Canning'

We have not been able to trace any report or comment on Mangal Pandey, his encounter or his hanging, at Barrackpore, in *HP* or in any other English or Bengali paper, published or edited by the Bengalis or the Indians. Like the earlier peasant revolts in Bengal, of the Chuars in 1799-1800, of Titoo Meer's in the 1830s, and of the Santals in 1855-56, the real character of

the sepoys' revolt in different phases, has also been distorted, and deliberately distorted, in the Calcutta press. It has published official handouts, exaggerating the misdeeds of the rebels. It might not have been possible for it to praise the heroism of the rebels or to justify their action at that times, but there was no reason for suppressing and distorting the news and facts. But the 'native press' of Calcutta, chiefly of the 'educated natives', did it in 1857.

Mangal Pandey was hanged on 8 April, 1857. On 9 April, *HP* wrote : "If any indication in the circumstances of the times be clear or definite it is that the whole system of our military organization should be recast. That indication should no longer be disregarded." What kind of army reform and reorganization was suggested by *HP*, that is, by Hurish ? *HP* wrote : "It is, in the first place, absolutely necessary to increase the strength of the European forces in India.... In the second place, the strength of the sepoy army must be reduced.... The next reform ought to be made in the mode of officering the sepoy army.... With a large European force, a large number of European commissioned officers must always be employed." (30 April and 7 May, 1857.)

It should be remembered that Hurish was then working as Assistant Military Auditor under Colonel Goldie, the Auditor-General, on a monthly salary of about Rs 400. He rose to this position from a petty clerk, with a monthly salary of about Rs 25. This was a reward for his loyal service to British masters. He was editing the *Hindoo Patriot* when he was working as an assistant auditor in the military department. We may presume therefore that the editorials on army reform were written by Hurish. We will be not stretching our imagination too far if we also presume that the proposal for the said army reform, Europeanization of the Indian army, originating in the heads of the British officers in the military audit department, trickled through the pen of Hurish in his *Hindoo Patriot*.

R. G. Sanyal (and also others) has written, "Hurish Chunder stood as a mediator between the people and the Government and saved both of them from headlong ruin." It is a typical

adulatory tribute of a sentimental Bengali biographer. Hurish did neither save the people nor the Government from 'headlong ruin'. An arch-imperialist Governor-General like Canning, and his advisers in England, had enough strength and acumen to tide over the crisis of mutiny, without any 'native's' advice, whoever he might be. As regards the common people, they were nowhere in the picture of any 'native' saviour, thinking writing and talking in English at that time. The fact is that Canning and his collaborators were persuaded by the editor of *HP*, and also by the editors of other 'native' papers, to deal sternly with the misguided rebels. The editor of *HP* simply pleaded for some amount of 'justice' and 'discrimination' in dealing with them. With an almost indecent haste, Hurish demonstrated the loyalty and devotion of the Indian Princes, the Bengal Zamindars and the newly created English educated middle class, to the British rulers, through the columns of *HP*. His faith in the 'civilized' behaviour of the Britishers, and in their sense of 'justice', was almost infantile. It echoes through the columns of *HP* in 1857-58. This was how Hurish helped in building up the myth of 'Clemency Canning'. It proves that we are a myth-making people, particularly the 'English-educated' among us. Neither we are historians, nor fighters for any just cause of common people.

One cannot serve both the masters and their servants or slaves at any one moment. If anyone tries to do that, he becomes more a ridiculous than a tragic figure in history. Ridiculous because, by doing that, he serves best the masters, and worst their slaves. Hurish invariably tried to do that, during the mutiny, and the indigo-crisis as well. As a faithful assistant in the military auditor-general's office, Hurish served his British masters, both as a trusted employee and a journalist, during the mutiny. As a devoted member and ardent ideological advocate of the British Indian Association, dominated by the Zamindars, Hurish rendered faithful service to the landholder class, despite his classbound support for the indigo-ryots, within constitutional limits, in 1860-61. This is history, the rest is myth.

HINDOO PATRIOT

EDITORIAL

There is a Rumour current that the native troops at Barrackpore are in a state of Mutiny, more or less open, the consequence of their having been ordered to make up cartridges with hog's lard. They are putting fire to officer's bungalows. There is nothing improbable in the rumour.

5 February 1857

THE HINDOO THEATRE

It is not long since Calcutta was regaled with histrionic exhibitions under the auspices of native amateurs when some of the best plays of Shakespear were acted upon the stage by young Hindoos who appeared to enter into the spirit of the characters they personated. Although the full measure of success which was anticipated could not be realised, yet the public, and specially the native community, shewed a taste for such performances which promised the best results, if the managers of the Theatre had only the tact to profit by the happy opportunity. Instead, however, of fostering by repeated and well got up performances the taste thus created, they permitted minor jealousies and a spirit of contention to demolish the good they had achieved; and the curtain fell upon their stage to be lifted up no more. Years rolled away. We had well nigh forgotten that we ever had such a thing as a theatre, when an invitation card surprised us with the fact that another Bengallee stage had risen like a phoenix upon the ashes of its predecessor. The announcement had the further attraction that the play

announced was a genuine Bengallee one, being a translation of the well-known dramatic execution of Kally Dass—the Sacoontollah. We were still more delighted to learn that the theatre had been got up by the grandsons of the late Baboo Ashootosh Dey, the stage having been erected at the family residence of the deceased millionaire, and partaking of the character of a private theatrical. It is not every day that native gentlemen of wealth and position are observed to spend money on amusements of a rational kind. It is altogether a relief to contemplate our youthful aristocracy apart from the low and grovelling pursuits which too unfortunately constitute the normal condition of many of that body. The drama has in all ages and with all nations formed one of the principal sources of a pure amusement. In India, it had at one time attained the highest state of perfection. But a combination of disastrous circumstances tended to annihilate the freedom of our race, and simultaneously with the loss of liberty we lost every blessing which chastened manners and embellished life. Foreigners contemplate with ecstasy the genius of our poets. The Universities of Europe are not tired of poring over the musty tomes of ancient Sanskrit literature. The Sacoontolah of Kallidas has undergone the most finished translations in Germany and in England. But amongst the people for whose forefathers the immortal bard taxed his genius, his admirable work is a sealed book almost. A few only have read it in the original, and a very contemptible number in the diluted form even of a translation. The play is admirably fitted for the stage. We had abundant evidence of the fact from the performance which came off on the night of the 30th instant. The young gentleman who personated Sacoontolah looked really grand and queenly in his gestures and address, and did great justice to the part he was enacting. The other amateurs also succeeded in creating an effect. We are told that the performers have not had the benefit of any lessons from practised actors, and this circumstance enables us to accord great credit to

exertions undoubtedly very well directed. We are confident that with a little polishing the corps dramatique will be able to make a brilliant debut.

5 February 1857

WHAT HAVE THE ZEMINDARS DONE FOR THE COUNTRY

Partly in contempt for their standards and partly in ignorance of their activity, the Zemindars of this country have too long allowed themselves to be misrepresented and vilified by the classes whose opinions compose effective public opinion in India. They now find themselves put upon a trial in which those who are impelled by personal interest to seek the destruction of their political and social interests are their real judges and what help they? Those whose prosperity depends upon their existence as an order in the state,—the vast mass of the population,—have no voice to utter their wants and feelings. Those whose profession it is to guide and give expression to public opinion are accustomed to squeak nonsense only beyond a certain narrow range of subjects. Those whose personal and class interest it is to make the truth known feel not the duty they owe to themselves and to their country. Indeed, so accustomed is the Indian public to hear of the Zemindars of Bengal as a race divided between rapacious tyrants and sensual drones, that the following passage in Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee's pamphlet is calculated to strike the reader as a piece of startling heresy :

I suppose no one will deny that the country has improved manyfold from what it is said to have been in the above quotation. If this point be admitted how are these improvements to be accounted for? Not exactly to the oppressions, the exactions or to the indolence of land holders. The latter must have laid out an immense capital in making new embankments, digging tanks, cutting Khalls, reclaiming swamps and waste lands, in advancing money to new tenants

for building houses, for establishing Hauts, Bazars and Gunges as well as in making roads (such as they are). We can admit all these improvements without giving them credit for being actuated by philanthropy, but simply by the operation of selfish motives. Self-interest and self-love have done wonders in the world and will go on doing so, notwithstanding the assertions of pseudo-philanthropists. I do not mean to say that the Zemindars of Bengal have done all that they ought to have, or could have done, but considering the constitution of our government, and the miserable state in which the country was reduced on the decline of the Mogul empire, and no less owing to the ignorance, oppression and frequent change of policy in the early part of the British administration, the habits, notions, and religion of the masses, as well as the deplorable state of the civil and criminal administration, I do not think the exertions of the Bengal Zemindars can be condemned either as futile or wanting in public utility.

The Rajah of Burdwan laid out from time to time in embankments, digging tanks, making roads, building charity houses, temples, and endowing schools more than two millions sterling money, and many thousands of poor and indigent are still daily fed by his charity. His annual outlay on these charitable objects in different parts of the country engrosses about a fifth of his income. The Rajah, by these means and by biting out gradually nearly the whole of his estate in Putnee and Mocerory Talooks, generally to men belonging to the middle classes, has brought immense waste and jungle lands into cultivation, so much so that Burdwan and Hooghly in point of cultivation and population stand foremost among the Bengal districts. The difficulty of establishing new villages, Bazars, Hauts and Gunges are well-known. The Zemindars of Bengal among other means employed the grant of rent-free tenures to induce people to cultivate and inhabit waste lands. No number of Hindoos or Musulmans will settle in a new place unless adequate provision be made for their priesthood, and where a large

number settle provision must be made for the support of the schools, temples, and mosques, by grants of rent-free lands. This is the origin by far of the majority of rent-free grants or aymehs in Bengal. Clusters of villages have sprung up in the country by this means. The British Government, instead of fostering this laudable spirit and upholding the practice, spread terror and dismay throughout the country by its resumption proceedings. Fortunately for the country, its benefactor, the Marquis of Cornwallis had restricted the Government claim, to sunnuds above 100 begahs in each instance on a moderate calculation, the Raja of Burdwan could have increased his rents by an addition of ten laks of Rupees a year by resuming an equal number of begahs of small rent-free tenures still held in his estate, but which is beyond the competency of Government to resume. I am a small Zemindar, yet after resuming all recent alienations there is still about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole area of my estate and that of my brothers, or about 1,00,000 begahs, held by thousands of people in small rent-free grants, of which, at least, one half is fairly resumable, but they are tolerated, and so do the other native Zemindars all over the country. Government originally lost nothing by these alienations, because the Zemindars continued all along to pay the assul jumma assessed by Todermul and the abwabs including the increase subsequently imposed by the nazims and the British Government. There is no doubt of the perpetration of a large amount of fraud and abuse in these grants, but the abuse dwindles into nothing compared with the vast and momentous benefit the institution has conferred upon the country. What is the practical conduct of the British Government in this respect? As soon as a mehal or estate becomes khas or escheated to Government most of these tenures are resumed, and the ryots assessed at the highest jumma. Digreb, a Jageer in the Hooghly district, yielded to the former proprietor in rent about 5,000 Rupees. Since it fell into the hands of Government, the rent has been raised to 8,000 Rs. and some hundred suits instituted for petty rent-free

holdings, most of which have been decided in favour of Government. Not to say the extortions and annoyance to which the ryots and Lakrajders were subjected to during these processes by a host of (in the language of Mr. C. W. Smith) "ill paid and reckless and oppressive Teshildars and Ameens." When the estates will fall into the hands of Government, the whole of the people of Bengal will be subjected to the amiable process of increase and resumption described above, but which in the opinion of the Lieut.-Governor will be "the happiest consummation for the country."

The writer speaks of the good works of his class with much more modesty than he need have done. Building ghats, roads and temples, founding villages and maintaining almshouses and hospitals are indeed acts of great merit. We wish to detract from the well-earned fame of no individual or class, and least of all would we speak, or allow without reproof to be spoken, a word in disparagement of such a man as Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy—one of whom every native of India is and ought to be proud. But even his deeds of munificence, magnificent as they are, and transcending as they do the ordinary measure of individual liberality and public spirit, are dwarfed by the side of the daily program of charity which costs at the end of the year three lacks of rupees. We won't discuss the abstract merits of different modes of charity, provided they have all this common quality, namely, that they relieve suffering and want at the moment. We may admit that certain modes are characterised by extravagance. You find that around three miles of the family house of one Zemindar, no shopkeeper will receive the value of any article he supplies to a traveller. The Zemindar pays it in order that all travellers may be induced to lodge and feed in the hospital for travellers attached to the family mansion. Utilitarianism condemns the misapplied beneficence; ignorance ascribes it to vanity;—but "Sybil" is a production of the nineteenth century, and we will have it a moot point whether such extravagances

are to be tolerated by the advertised contributors to the French Inundation Fund.

The author has evidently sought to bring forward only those services rendered to the community by his class which are likely to be appreciated by the generality of his European readers. But the Zemindars of Bengal have done more. It is to the resident portion of them that Bengal society owes much of the morality which still characterises it. That crime is less in Bengal than elsewhere in the world with a population similar in magnitude, is not to be ascribed to the action of penal judicatories whose touch is pollution, but to the established and not despotic government of the Zemindar. The fines levied by the class upon certain classes of wrong-doers form an admitted portion of its revenue, and a hackneyed topic of declamation with certain politicians, but it is gross ignorance only which believes that this system of exaction is acquiesced in without the sympathy and active support of the population at large.

Penal coders, model Magistrates and the "enlightened system of jail discipline" at which system-mongers gape, operate upon a mixed assemblage of innocent and guilty, forming but an insignificant portion of the population. No Hindoo avails himself of the law to punish the invader of his domestic peace, and yet nowhere is domestic peace securer. And who secures it? It is the Zemindar acting as the executive agent of the will of local society. Confirmed criminals live a marked and excommunicated class. Who drives them to that isolation? It is the Zemindar acting as the minister of established social laws. Drunkenness in spite of Abkaree laws, makes slow advances. Who opposes its progress? The Zemindar acting against his own interest in obedience to public opinion. The police oppress and torture and extort. Who puts the most efficient limit to their oppression cruelty and extortion? The Zemindar yielding to a sense of his social responsibilities. A race of foreign adventurers, aided by the legislators and judiciary invade the rights of the tenantry and coerce their persons. Who

alone protects them? The Zemindar, bartering his peace, high rents and regular income, for strong handed enemies, and insolvent and irregular renters, does it.

The Zemindars of Bengal have much to answer for, because much has been given to them; but amongst their shortcomings inutility is not to be reckoned.

19 February 1857

SOCIAL UNION AMONG EDUCATED NATIVES

It is to be regretted that the native gentlemen of Bengal who have a status in society and are considerably in advance of the mass of their countrymen in intelligence, and ethic perceptions should sedulously keep aloof from each other and thus render their intelligence, respectability and moral excellence a sort of abstract reality without a particle of practical usefulness. Absolute excellence does but little good to society; inert virtue commands no influence. The rays of the sun, if deprived of the virtues which is the immediate cause of germination and growth, would cease to be valuable, and the brilliant luminary which is now worshipped as a deity would command only the foolish admiration of thoughtless sight seers. It is doubtless agreeable to contemplate a beautiful object in nature. A splendid mirage possesses at a distance for greater attraction than a field of corn. Yet sober and reasoning men attach more importance to one acre of the latter than to fifty thousand of the former. It is still more agreeable to contemplate moral and intellect worth embodied in a human frame. But the hermit is a loss to society. In the proportion in which that which is active is superior to that which is inert is the working mind more valuable than the mind which imbibes everything but imparts nothing. Hence all the education disseminated by our schools and colleges, though answering one of the purposes for which they were instituted, effect but a small measure of the good they

are capable of doing, so long as our countrymen do not take to sharpening their intellects on the grindstone of society and smoothing down by a perpetual whirl with kindred intelligences whatever asperities or cones there may exist in the tenor of individual minds. We are accused, and perhaps not without a sufficient reason, of lacking that public spirit and unity of aim and preception without which no nation can rise in the arts of civilised life or attain political eminence. The detractors from the national character of the Hindoos point exultingly to the jealous meanness with which many amongst us set themselves in opposition to beneficial measures of reform for no other reason than that of satisfying a rancorous spirit of opposition. Without acknowledging ourselves to be such monsters in the phenomena of the mind as the state of things described would necessarily make us to be, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that educated Hindoos are not so social and accommodating in their intercourse with their brethren as could be altogether wished. If the intelligent native does not actually exert himself to mar the progress of a good action, he does not certainly set himself zealously to work in furtherance thereof. If he is not positively mischievous, he is still negatively so. It is only within a few years that we have learnt to appreciate the value and admire the potency of united action. The British Indian Association during the scant period of its existence has more thoroughly revolutionized native feelings and opinions on the political position and requirements of the country and invested them with a defined and settled character, than heaps of blue books could have done during ages of bibliological agitation. The knowledge that is imparted by the lips and the spirit that is breathed by an oral intercourse are more deeply imbibed and readily caught up than those received through less familiar media. That is the philosophy of club life. A club is a necessity to every English gentleman—the most unsocial of human beings—as much a necessity as his dinner or his newspaper. Everybody that has a standing in society has the entree

of a respectable club, where he meets upon neutral ground with his equals, where his social virtues are exercised, where the fashions are set to the etiquette of common life—where he learns to merge selfish feelings into a harmonious public feeling at which the oddities of his manners and his character are rectified under the chastening influence of a dominant club opinion. How much do we need such an institution here! A social hall in town at which intelligent native gentlemen may daily assemble, that is where one is certain to find the company of equals he at once likes and fears, would be one of the most important instruments for modelling the character of our nation and giving us that earnest and sincere union the want of which is the standing cause of our present helplessness.

A proposition is now on foot for supplying such a want by the establishment of a public reading room and conversazione in the heart of the town where intelligent native gentlemen may assemble for the purposes of literary recreation and the most friendly intercourse on all subjects bearing upon the general prosperity of the country. The project is charged with an immense interest and we therefore wish it the best and speediest success.

26 February 1857

MIDDLEMEN AND THEIR ESTATES

Can any body explain to us how the multiplication of middlemen and the absolute security sought for their estates are to promote agricultural improvement and the development of the resources of the country? And yet, that middlemen are to be the regenerators of Bengal is the stock argument of those who are ashamed to avoid the bolder policy of breaking faith with the Zemindars. Do these gentlemen know what middlemen do with their lands and their tenants? The most rapacious Zemindar waits for an occasion, a pretext, to increase the rent of his lands or levy a new cess upon

his tenantry. But the middleman's opportunity is perennial, and his pretexts ever forthcoming. He has taken a farm of the lands to make his profit, and whether it be by dispossessing petty lackerajdars or enhancing the rents of malgoozary lands or ousting old tenants on primitive rates of rent, he will make it. It is in Hooghly and in Burdwan, districts three-fourths of which are in the hands of middlemen, that rent has risen to seven or eight rupees the biggah. Forty to fifty shillings the acre is a rent which even English landlord does not always secure for lands of ordinary quality. The Hooghly and Burdwan middlemen has achieved the feat of imposing on a Bengal tenantry the fiscal burdens borne by the highest-taxed population in the world. To squeeze as much as possible from the ryot is the object of the middleman, and neither social opinion nor the land balks him of that.

There is one class of middlemen who hold their lands for somewhat different purposes from those of the ordinary. Bengallee putneeder or ezardar. The indigo-planter has a peculiar object in holding the interest of a middleman. It is a misuse of terms to call the owners of factories indigo-planters. They are no more planters of indigo than are the mill-owners of Manchester, Glasgow and Paisby cotton planters. The factories in Bengal manufacture indigo; they do not grow it. The agricultural part of the business is in the hands of the ryots who sell the produce of the fields to the owners of the factories. All this would have been very fair,—but for one little circumstance. The price at which the plant is to be delivered by the ryot is dictated from the factory. Three-fourths of the indigo factories in Bengal would be deserted if the produce of the indigo fields were sold at a fair market price. The exorbitant rate of profits which, despite habitual mismanagement, indigo factories yield to their owners is bolstered up by the iniquitous system of compulsory agriculture and sale. The best aid to this system of compulsion is afforded by the relation between landlord and tenant. Hence, every indigo factor is anxious to secure the

position of a landlord over the tenantry who are to supply him with raw material. It is seldom that he has the capital to purchase a Zemindary, he therefore seeks for an ezarah, a farm for years or a farm in perpetuity, of a few villages around his factory.

Let those who clamour for security to under-tenures base their clamour upon any other ground but the interests of agriculture and the happiness of the ryots.

5 March 1857

DIVISIONS IN HINDOO SOCIETY

It is amusing to mark the desperate shifts to which the generation of grandfathers is ever and anon resorting in order to dyke in form the aggressions of a daily accumulating sea of new truths, institutions which were the marvel of their youth and which they would fain canonize in their dotage. It is piteous to behold hoary-headed patriarchs, on whose brows has descended the halo of antiquity making an expiring effort to rally round errors on which a new light has begun to break in which will ere long succumb to a deluge of enlightened ideas, the first surges whereof are already moaning ominously. Worn out octogenarian minds vainly endeavour to set themselves in opposition to a progress which obeying a fundamental law of nature is moving onwards with the implacability of destiny. The spell which hitherto invested horrid social institutions with a tint borrowed from paradise exists no longer to blind the vulgar or obfuscate wisdom. There has been reared in our country a higher standard by which to designate the boundary between virtue and vice than couplets of Sanscrit verse, which are undoubtedly very good poetry but which no ghast needs tells us are not nevertheless revelation! Yet so strong is the inertia of ancient usages that even a skilful composition of farces is unable to disturb their position; or if it does, the rash Milo who achieves

the impossibility finds perhaps a tomb in the cleft where he anticipated a triumph ! There is nothing either monstrous or unnatural in the fact that those who have lived out a social cycle should traverse the utility of measures which were not essential to the happy and peaceful progress of the circle in which their best associations are quartered. But it is certainly extraordinary that young men on whom the influence of recollection has not yet obtained any substantial hold should consign their judgement and independent thought to the rude modelling of forefathers by no means remarkable for ability or true learning—that they should accept as the ne plus ultra of human wisdom institutions which bear on their very face the impress of barbarous ruffianism or selfish jealousy. Such a grovelling resignation of the truth, right of the human species argues a most lamentable condition of mental effiminacy, and a strong effort is necessary to enable us to spring superior to the obnoxious influence of invested opinions. The innovation recently introduced into this country by which innocent infants are intended to be snatched from a destiny of perpetual vestalhood has rent the Hindoos of Bengal into two essential divisions. The admirers of the new order of things have been denounced as heretics and branded as outcasts by their orthodox brethren. A few instances of widow marriage have occurred and the parties concerned have been excluded from the pale of native society. A ban rests upon them which it is our bounden duty to remove. If the educated amongst us display a resolute front and adhere to their professions, not all the shasters in India can prevent them from carrying out a just and wholesome reform. The inveteracy of caste has ceased to exist for many things opposed to the shasters are now perpetrated by Hindoo gentlemen with but a gauze screen of secrecy. These, nevertheless, are suffered to comprise part and parcel of Hindoo society, and the most fastidious caste-monger does not hesitate to associate with them in religious ceremonies and social intercourse. It is only the open and defiant

renouncement of the Hindoo faith which subjects the offender to social outlawry—making him a pariah amongst his countrymen—a thing of loathing and contempt. But the feelings which lead to the enforcement of this treatment are less those of anger for transgressions of faith than of the disdain universally felt towards a renegade. The divisions in Hindoo society caused by the novel marriages have originated in the former description of feeling. They are the manifestation of the revenge of the orthodox party for the slight put upon their opinions, tinged with Asiatic repugnance towards practices which have a tendency to lower a romantic ideal of female chastity. When that feeling of revenge wears off or as soon as large accessions are made to the liberal party consisting of the youthful members of those who are the most boisterous in their opposition to the new regime—the voice of clamour will cease to be heard, and society will return to its usual course. Let not therefore the friend of the widow be dismayed into a pusillanimous neutrality or discouraged by an impending interdict from acting conscientiously his part in the important drama. Instances have come to our notice in which native gentlemen residing in some of the villages about Calcutta, who had openly espoused the cause of Hindoo widow marriage, have succeeded in putting down the voice of schism and still maintain the social position which the bigotry of a few ill-educated conservatives had faintly challenged. It is time that enlightened men begin to have a strong party of their own.

5 March 1857

PUMJUM OUTRAGES

While our legislators and Governors are intensely busy with schemes for renovating society, administrative abuses of the grossest form enjoy perfect immunity. It is so very easier, and more pleasant to sketch ideal constitutions

than to deal with difficulties in the concrete ; it is so very irksome to trace an abuse to its origin and in all its ramifications and to find its remedy ; there is so much eclat in the act of propounding gigantic measures of radical reform,—that there is nothing surprising in the constant tendency of irresponsible statesmanship to run into wild projects. This is specially the case with Indian statesmanship. Well-intentioned in the extreme, it owes and pays no respect to national opinion. Who can doubt that Sir Thomas Munro, while implanting the seeds of incurable social misery in one-fourth of the Indian continent was actuated by the loftiest and purest motives ? And yet who can be certain that the attractive facility of dealing with the sole political relation he recognized, namely, that between a patriarchal government and an Arcadian peasantry, as compared with the adjustment of complex social relations, was not one of the inducements that led the Madras statesman to his policy ? Something similar is observable in the conduct of our rulers on this side of the country. Society exists in Bengal in a more complicated form than elsewhere in Asia. A larger number of independent interests, some of them analogistic to each other, have grown up with our social progress than is to be found in any oriental society. But our administrative improvements have not kept pace with that progress. Gross anomalies and abuses have consequently made their appearance ; but instead of addressing themselves to the correction of those anomalies and abuses, our statesmen regret the progress which has been the means of evolving them. They prescribe decapitation for head-ache.

There are undoubtedly many evils connected with the Zemindary system. The agricultural population is subject to much oppression at the hands of those who should have been their best protectors. The landholders of Bengal have to answer for much of the suffering under which the rural population labours. But who is responsible for the lavish means of oppression placed within reach of the landholder or for the impunity with which he practises oppression ? It is

fashionable to talk of the rapacity of the Zemindar ; but considering the temptation and the opportunities presented to him of oppressing his tenants, the actual conduct of the Zemindary body appears marvellously moderate and self-denying.

Of the many modes of Zemindary oppression, the one now most in use, is the enforcement and perversion of the process of distraint. The process, a purely feudal institution, and known only to the jurisprudence of European nations, was naturalized in this country about the time of the permanent settlement. Since that, it has been "turned in the hands of one section of the community into the greatest scourge of another." It has latterly superseded as a means of coercion even the dread huftum law. We have before us a letter addressed by the Sudder Ameen of Zillah 24 Pergunnahs to the Legislative Councillor for Bengal, and published in the form of a pamphlet in which the Sudder Ameen gives it as the sum of his judicial experience that, "the evils arising from the system of distraint and sale of tenants' property for recovery of rents" are "in point of extent and magnitude, the amount of suffering they entail and their tendency to disorganize society, perhaps unequalled by any other class of evils which has yet lacked the attention of the horrible council." And well may he say so. Under the cloak of distraint atrocities are committed by broad day light which a professional dacoit would shrink from. Plunder, rapine and insults to women are among the common incidents of a distraint in Bengal. All this is done in the presence of the police and without the slightest apprehension or risk of punishment.

19 March 1857

A GENEALOGICAL ACCOUNT OF THE BURDWAN FAMILY (Correspondence)

TRANSLATED FROM A PERSIAN MANUSCRIPT

"Aboo, one of the Khettry tribe, was the founder of the Burdwan Raj. He held his office under the Fouzdar of

Hooghly, and managed the duties of his situation with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employer. In the year 1679 he was raised to then most important and responsible post of Superintendent of Police of the district of Burdwan, as well as of Pergunnah Ibrahimpoor and Sakallybazar, with the title of Choudhurran. He was succeeded by his son Baboo. At that time one Ram Roy was the Zemindar of Burdwan; but he having neglected to make good the payment of revenue to the Nabab, the estate was made over to Baboo. At his death, his son Ghanasam succeeded him in the Zemindary. Then came Kissen Ram, the son of Ghanasam. Kissen Ram acquired much celebrity in the court of the Nabab Ibrahim Khan, and added to his ancestral property the Zemindary of Awzmutashahee. About this period, the year 1695, an event occurred which put an end to Kissen Ram's life. It was the revolt of Soba Singh, Zemindar of Pergunnah Chatooah Burda, now included in the jurisdiction of Zillah Hooghly. After having plundered the neighbouring villages and secured the aid of Rehim Khan, an Affghan chief in Orissa, he attacked Burdwan. Kissen Ram, with a small band of his followers, came out to meet him, but was defeated and slain; and his property and family fell into the hands of the insurgents; Jogut Ram, his son, fled to Jehangeernugger (Dacca) and laid the circumstance of his father's death before the Nabab, who deputed his Peshcar and the Fouzdar of Jessore to put him in possession of his Zemindary. These, however, proved too weak to cope with such a formidable enemy. Being thus unchecked, Soba Singh extended his devastations as far as Hooghly, and proved, for a while, the great terror of the country. He then returned to Burdwan, where he was assassinated by the daughter of Kissen Ram who stabbed him with a dagger on his attempting to violate her chastity. This event enabled Jogut Ram to succeed to his father's Zemindary of which he had been long deprived. Subsequently he increased it by the valuable addition of Pergunnah Ranhatty. In 1701 he fell a sacrifice by the hands of a miscreant, leaving to two sons, viz., Keerit Chunder and

Mertosen, of whom the former, being the eldest, succeeded him. Keerit Chunder was a man of considerable talents, and possessed great aptitude for business. He was extremely punctual in the payment of the revenue ; and in consequence Pergunnah Monohurshahee and Phoorsoot were alienated from the two defaulting landlords, Buraram and Sibchurn, and made over to him by the Fouzdar of Hooghly, in the year 1703. In the following year, he obtained possession of Pergunnah Chatooh Burda, the Zemindar of which, a descendant of Soba Singh, had taken up arms against Moorshed Kooly Khan, but at last was defeated and driven out of his house by Lahoomal, the Peshcar of the Nabab, and Durpanarain Roy, the Kanoongoe of the Sooba of Bengal. At that time the Zemindary of Pergunnah Mundle Ghat was held in coparcenary between Jagonath Persud and Sookdebe, the two most powerful men in that part of Bengal. But their rent having fallen into arrears, and they themselves having been charged with a high way robbery and murder their estate was incorporated with the Zemindary of Burdwan by order of the Nabab together with Pergunnah Aunundonaran. It was by these means that Keerit Chunder became, in a short time, one of the wealthiest and most influential Zemindars of the country, and secured a very high name in the court of Moorshedabad for the regularity with which he always paid his rent to the Nabab. He died in the year 1739, leaving his son, Cheirtosen in the full possession of his immense estates. Cheirtosen also enlarged his inheritance by adding Pergunnah Arsa from Nreesingo Dev Roy, son of Gobind Deb Roy, in collusion with the officers of the Nabab Serferaj Khan. He died without any male issue, and in consequence Teloke Chunder, nephew of Keerit Chunder, became his successor. At his demise, in the year 1770, his son Tej Chunder succeeded him to all his Zemindaries, comprising the most valuable and fertile portion of Bengal, with the high title of Maharajah Dherajgee. He is still alive, and holds his Zemindary."

THE MUTINIES

Months before a single cartridge was greased with beef-suet or hog's lard. We endeavoured to draw public attention to the unsatisfactory state of feeling in the Sepoy army. We are now in the midst of an epidemic mutiny. The spirit of disaffection has worked its way into the heads of the sepoys until not a regiment in the service can be trusted. At the present stage of its progress, any conjectures concerning the turn affairs are likely to take can no longer be deemed premature and mischievous. The worst or nearly the worst has come out, and there is no want of distinctness or prominence in the symptoms which have already appeared to warn us against the existence of a powder mine in the ranks of the native soldiery that wants but the slightest spark to set in motion gigantic elements of destruction.

The facility with which the murderers ... in the whole regiment was a significant prelude to the more open manifestation of the spirit of insubordination among the sepoys that occurred at Barrackpore. The regiments cantoned at the latter station by previous concert refused point blank to have any thing to do with the new cartridges supplied from the ordnance stores. An impression prevailed that an objectionable ingredient was used in the preparation of these cartridges. Factious men contrived to render this impression subservient to a mischievous end. The sepoys were successfully worked upon and Barrackpore had well nigh become the scene of general mutiny. The timely and spirited interference of the General commanding the division served to dispel the cloud that had gathered, and a luminous and telling address to the troops for a time undid the evil that had been slowly and silently making head. The sepoys ceased to hold nocturnal meetings, passed votes of censure on their officers, set fire to bungalows and perpetrate other acts of crime. The disease seemed to have disappeared, when its symptoms broke out afresh, and in their indication showed that it was neither the fat of oxen nor the

dread of proselytism, but a deep-rooted cause of estrangement that led to these mutinous outbreaks. A dangerous shock to the discipline and soldierly feelings of the entire army was imparted by the events, and the 19th N. I. caught the infection in all its virulence. They committed themselves even more hopelessly than the troops at Barrackpore, and a signal punishment has marked the displeasure of the government. The blind obedience to command which forms the basis of military discipline seems universally to have given place to an obstinate and rancorous spirit of debate. Mutiny must be the natural result of the working of such a spirit.

The Indian army has a discipline peculiarly its own. It has been kept together as much by the usual modes of military organization as by the peculiar composition of its elements and the absence of those exciting causes of military violence which exist abundantly in armies where alcohol is set up as a god and worshipped. The men who constitute the armed strength of the British Indian empire, are sprung from a race endowed with a traditional repute for chivalry. It is not here as in European countries that the very dregs of the population only are enlisted into the ranks. The strictest rules on the contrary are enforced for preventing the admission of recruits from inferior orders of caste. To the *chamar* or the *dome* the rolls of the army as those of genteel society are never accessible. The *Sepoys* are therefore more amenable to the moral influence of their Commander than any other body of soldiers in the world. Nothing short of grievous oppression or the most flagrant disrespect of substantial prejudices can drive the native soldiery to conduct foreign to their obligations and their duty. Without the utmost provocations to insubordination the *sepoys* scarcely ever raises his hand against his superior. It is not in his constitution to do so. The precepts of his religion forbid his perpetrating such a deed. Soldiering is a respectable profession, and to forfeit one's footing in it is a misfortune visited by the condemnation of society. The censure of his relatives and friends awaits a wanton infringement by him of the respect due to his officer. Every cir-

cumstance, moral, social and religious, helps to maintain the harmony for which the native regiments in India are pre-eminent. When nearly a century ago the European troops of the Company refused to do their duty, and headed by a seditious corporal turned their backs upon an expedition the failure of which would have involved the British power in utter ruin—the sepoy corps bravely and zealously supplied the places of their European comrades and would have readily chastised their traitorous behaviour if a lenient policy had not been adopted by the Council at Calcutta. The remembrance of such noble and heroic conduct on the part of the native troops does not give us ground to suppose that the present excited state of the sepoy mind is the result of a spontaneous evolution of seditious sentiments. What then has loosened the ties that hitherto held them in cordial military union with their European leaders? The answer is easy to give. Those whose province it is to look to their interest and give heed to their complaints are singularly neglectful of their high and important trust. The practice of removing every experienced or promising officer to the civil department of Government, in manifest violation of good policy, has denuded the native regiments of their best officers. Those available for regimental duty are either unfit or unwilling to exercise that vigilant and zealous supervision over the men under their control without which the finest body of soldiers must degenerate into a loose and imbecile rabble. The esprit de corps which is at once the soul and the glory of veteran regiments must descend to the men from the officers who had them. But the esprit de corps of the officers of the Bengal native infantry is a perpetual hankering after staff-employ—in default furlo’—! Need we wonder then that the discontent of the officers should be caught up by reflection with which the entire native army seems to be tainted. Where open mutiny has occurred rigorous measures for the punishment of the mutineers have followed. But the aspect of affairs is by no means encouraging, and the wisdom of the government will not be wasted in devising

S.C.E.R.T., West Bengal

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prompt and efficient measures for arresting the progress of the evil whilst yet the disease may be cut out. If it should ascend to the vitals, fusillades and cannonades will hardly succeed in re-establishing order in the ranks and restoring the army to its lost position.

2 April 1857

MOCURRURY TENURES

A decision of considerable importance to the holders of under-tenures was given the other day by the sudder court. The plaintiffs were purchasers of an estate at a sale for the recovery of arrears of revenue. The defendant was holder of a Mocurrury tenure in the estate under a pottah dated in 1788 or two years before the decennial settlement. A series of decisions on the cases which sprung out of the sale of the Nongy Bangalah estate had established the law that all talookdarry interests created within twelve years before the decennial settlement were voidable at the suit of an auction purchaser of the Zemindary. In the decision now given, it is ruled that all talookdarry interests in existence at the time of the decennial settlement are protected against the auction purchaser, unless the latter can show that the condition of the tenure was such as to give the Zemindar at the time of the settlement a right to enhance the rent of the tenure or to oust the Mocurrurydar.

The distinct benefit of this decision will be shared by a large class of under-tenants. Between the date of the assumption of the revenue management of Bengal by Warren Hasting's Board of Revenue and the date of the decennial settlement the Zemindars had been so treated that they had lost all confidence in the permanence of their possession. They had therefore endeavoured to secure their fortunes by extensively creating under-tenures in the names of their relatives and dependents, but the real beneficial interest of which was theirs. Hence much valuable property, in

the shape of Mocurrury and other tenures of a similar kind, was created during the twelve years immediately preceding the decennial settlement. The decision under review will effectually protect these Mocurruries, as we may take it for granted that no Zemindar of this day will be able to meet the requisition of the law for proof of the liability of such under-tenures to enhancement of rent at the time of the settlement.

The court, we observe, in dismissing the plea of prescription raised by the defendant laid down the law in these terms: "An auction purchaser cannot be barred by the law of limitation from questioning the validity of any right set up by the tenantry of his acquired estate, if the suit be within twelve years from the date of his purchase." We hope the judges have not been misreported. A casual remark like the above will, of course, not set aside the authority of such well-argued decisions as have lately passed on distinct issues raised on the point as to the effect of the law of limitations upon the rights of an auction purchaser; but it affords some hope that in the next contest in the sudder court involving the question of the effect of the law of limitations upon the former's rights, reason will be permitted to assert her sway, and a Ryot of Bengal will not be called upon to produce a deed a century old and to prove it by parole witnesses.

It may surprise some of our readers to learn that the present judgment was given by a bench presided over by Mr. Raikes. Mr. Patton and Mr. Sconce were associated with him.

2 April 1857

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DENAJPOOR RAJ FAMILY

(Correspondence)

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Zemindary of Pergunnah Denajpoor or Beejanuggur was held by one

Sreemunto Chowdhoory, a low caste Ootturary caet of the Dutt family. He was an able and powerful landholder of his time, and enjoyed his small but highly valuable estate for many years without being ousted, like others, by Shah Jehan, who was then overrunning Bengal with a formidable band of his Mogul followers.

Sreemunto Chowdhoory had no son, but only one daughter whom he loved most tenderly. He had intended to make over the estate to her in case she should fail to give birth to a son as an astrologer had foretold that she would bear no children. This prediction, however, proved faulty, for in the course of time the lady was delivered of two sons, who were named Hurroram and Hurnarain. These two brothers were descended, by their paternal side, from a Ghose family whose descendants are yet to be found in many of the villages of the district of Moorshedabad, such as in Pasthooby, Russora, Cooloye &c.

At the demise of Sreemunto Chowdhoory, Hurroram the eldest succeeded him to all his estates both real and personal, and remained in possession of them for upwards of twelve years. He had two sons Sookdeb and Bistoonauth. Of these Bistoonauth was a great darling of his father who, therefore, left him in possession of his self-acquired property, and gave Sookdeb all the ancestral estates.

Sookdeb, upon coming to the estates, managed them, for a considerable period, with great pretence and economy. He left three sons viz., Ramdeb, Joydeb and Prannauth. Of these, Ramdeb, the eldest, succeeded his father. He remained, however, but a few years in possession of his Zemindary, for he died at a very premature age. Having no son to succeed him, he constituted by a will his brother Joydeb as his successor, notwithstanding his wife's strong opposition to the measure, who, it is said, begged him on her knees to leave the estate to her. But the testator, anticipating all the bad effects of giving so much power to a lady of her rank and respectability and fearing that her ignorance of the knowledge of Zemindary affairs, might at last prove

rainous to the estate, turned but a deaf ear to all her entreaties. He, however, made a liberal provision for her maintenance during her life, and strictly enjoined her to remain obedient to her brother in law. Thus having settled all his affairs, and distributed large sums of money to the Bramins and poor, he breathed his last at the early age of thirty.

In conformity with the provisions of the foregoing will Joydeb took possession of all the estates of his deceased brother, and his title was confirmed by the officers of Ibrahim Khan, then viceroy of Bengal. Joydeb had a respectable knowledge of both Persian and Arabic, and understood revenue matters better than any of his predecessors. He introduced a new system of collecting rents, which was advantageous both to himself and his ryots. He hardly kept himself at home but passed his time generally in superintending his affairs in the different villages of his Zemindary. Like Ramdeb he died childless, and left the estate to his youngest brother Prannauth.

Prannauth also was an able Zemindar, and his mild and obliging disposition had gained for him the attachment of all ryots. He was however, much prone to superstition and bigotry, and had adopted a strange and chimerical mode of worshipping the gods. It is said that he expended lacks of rupees in sacrificial rites and ceremonies for the birth of a son, and made his wife—beautiful lady—undergo such religious toils and fatigues as were too hard for the delicacy of her sex. But all this was to no purpose. The lady remained as barren as the desert of Saharah.

Being thus disappointed to get a successor of his body by supernatural means, Prannauth now thought of perpetuating his family by that of adoption. He therefore, fixed upon Ramnauth—a near relation of his—as the fittest object to whom he could make over his extensive property. Accordingly, he brought him to his house and instructed him in the knowledge of Persian, Arabic and Bengalee, as well as in the tenets of religion. Prannauth managed his

Zemindary for forty-five years, and made a new assessment upon all lands, which gave him an increased profit. He died in the year 1725 leaving Ramnauth, his adopted son, in full possession of his valuable estate.

Ramnauth, commonly called the Rajah Ramnauth—was in every respect a very distinguished personage. While yet a boy, he displayed a passionate thirst for knowledge, and loved his books more than any thing else. It is said that so retentive was his memory that he could repeat, by heart, almost all the best lines of the great work of Shahanama. He could speak also Oordoo with as much correctness and facility as the most profound Mouloovy of the age.

Ramnauth had also many exemplary virtues,—content amidst voluptuousness, frugal in extravagance, and magnanimous amidst sycophancy and meanness. His generosity and piety were alike remarkable. Nothing is so praiseworthy as his anxious solicitude to relieve the distress of others. His bountiful hand was ever stretched towards the poor and helpless and his charity has been proverbial even to this day. In short he was free from all those evil propensities which are concomitant effects of boundless wealth and power.

Such was Rajah Ramnauth in his private character. In a public sphere of life he was alike distinguished. It was his extensive capacity for business, and his masterly arrangements of both his household and Zemindary affairs, as well as his immense fortune, that brought him to the particular notice of Moorshed Kooly Khan who confirmed his right to the Zemindary, and presented a Khaloat or honorary dress with the usual title of Moharaja Dheraj.

Subsequently Ramnauth enlarged his ancestral property by an addition of the rich and valuable Pergunnah Shalbarry, Butasun (part of which now belongs to the Rajdanie family), Ghoraghat and Pajrah. The amount of rent realized from his estate was about thirty lacks of rupees, of which fourteen lacks was annually remitted to the public treasury at Moorshedabad and the residue sixteen lacks was left as his net income.

But it was an accident more than his ancestral or self-acquired estates that made the Rajah Ramnauth the most wealthy man in Bengal. We allude to the story of his having obtained possession of all the wealth of Ban Rajah. A Bramin, say the old natives, appeared one day, before the Rajah as he was sitting in his durbar and delivered him a letter addressed to him by an unknown hand written in the debnagree character. The Rajah opened the letter in the presence of all his Amla, but was at a loss to understand its contents which were to the following effect. "It is strange, oh mighty Rajah, that you do not seek your own interest. How long will you keep me in watching the wealth of Ban Rajah? Do you not know that his descendants are no longer existing, and that his estates are due to you being as they are in your own land? Hasten, therefore, oh most virtuous of men! and relieve me from the task of watching them day and night, by carrying them to your own house."

In the postscript it was written thus.

"The Bearer of this is a poor indigent Bramin. He cannot perform the ceremony of his daughter's marriage for want of one thousand rupees. Be kind enough to pay him the same. But if you will fail to do so, send a draft upon me, and it will be duly honored by your ever well-wisher."

The Rajah thought the Bramin to be an impostor and treated him with indifference. But at the intercession and request of one of his confidential officers, he seemed to give credit to his words, and at last dismissed him with the draft of the above amount upon the anonymous writer of the letter.

A few days after, the Bramin returned to the Rajah bearing a message that, "if he—the Rajah—would not take heed of what was urged to him for his own good the wealth of Ban Rajah should be placed in some other hands." At the same time he laid before the Rajah a bag of one thousand rupees on gold mohurs which he said was presented to him by the author of the letter above adverted to, immediately in the receipt of the draft from the Rajah. It was this prompt and ready payment of the money that astonished

the Rajah. He now seriously thought there must be something like truth in the assertion of the Bramin. He therefore took him to a private apartment, and asked him all the particulars. The Bramin replied that he did not know himself, more than by appearance, who must be the person that presented him the money and the letter, but he could shew him the place where he met him. It was, he said, near the temple of the idol Beeroopacco Shiba upon the bank of the river Poonoorbhaba, or close to the north-west corner of the broken edifices of Ban Rajah.

Having thus ascertained the exact spot, the Rajah set out with a large number of his men to take possession of the wealth of Ban Rajah. When he reached the place he ordered them to cut down the jungles that covered it, and dig out the treasure without loss of time. This attempt of the Rajah proved successful beyond his expectation. For it is said that many crores of Rupees, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones, were discovered, and carried to the Rajah's treasury continually for two days and nights!

There are some striking circumstances connected with the above story which cannot render it wholly destitute of foundation. In the first place we must remember the custom of our country,—especially during the mahomedan administration—of depositing wealth underneath the ground. In days when spoliation and plunder were practised with impunity, when robbery and theft were committed in the broad daylight of the sun, or in other words, when security of property was unprovided by any systematic form of government, it was generally unsafe for the people to make a shew of their wealth either by adopting a pleasant and comfortable mode of living, or laying it out in some commercial speculation. Those, therefore, that accumulated any thing, kept it hermetically sealed in some unfrequented part of their house. Ban Rajah must have lived in one of those days of anarchy and misrule, and thought it prudent, like others to bury his immense wealth in the earth. Or it might be that he left no heirs to inherit

his fortunes which in consequence remained buried where they were. Besides the place whence they are supposed to have been dug up is till to be observed. It is about eight miles south of the city of Denajpoor near the walk of a ruined and delapidated castle now almost overgrown with jungle.

But whatever might be the truth of the above surmise it is a fact, acknowledged on all hands, that there never was, nor has ever been, any one in whole Bengal (not even Jogut Set) who could be compared with the Bengali Ramnauth in opulence and grandeur, what we hear of hoards, heaps and masses were all to be found in the treasury of the Rajah. It is said that even Moorshed Kooly Khan, the viceroy of Bengal, was in the habit of borrowing money from him whenever he was required to send a large remittance to the Emperor of Delhi.

Ramnauth resided in a castle built by himself. It was much larger than any thing of the kind now to be observed in Bengal, extending two miles on all sides with a deep ditch surrounding them. It is now however in a dilapidated state, and in a few years will be utterly ruined.

Ramnauth excavated a tank called after his name Ramsagur. It is one of the largest reservoirs of water in the country, and has been of great use to travellers who pass by it. If the common report be credited, it cost the Rajah more than ten lacks of rupees !

(To be continued.)

2 April 1857

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DENAJPOOR RAJ FAMILY

(Correspondence)

(Continued from last number)

But of all the monuments and acts of public utility, left by the Rajah, the establishment of the Idol Kallia Kanto was the most celebrated. It is, indeed, impossible to speak

too highly of the pomp and magnificence with which this inanimate piece of stone was, at one time, worshipped by its founder. Those who have seen the Thacoor Radabullub at Kandee erected or rather embellished by the Dewan Gungagobind Singh, may form some idea of the wealth and grandeur of the Denajpoor Idol. Lands, yielding an annual income of four lacks of rupees were appropriated solely to its worship ! Besides this permanent endowment, gifts and presents were made from time to time by every successful votary. By these and similar means the property of the Idol, at one time, rose to an enormous extent, and its priests and other attending Bramins were considered the happiest of men. But the operation of the resumption regulations, as well as the general decay of the Raj, has proved a deathblow to the interests of the Idol, and in consequence it is now dwindling into nothing.

Ramnauth died in the year 1760, and his four wives immolated themselves on his funeral pile. He was contemporary with Raughunundun of Rajshahee and Raghooram of Nuddea.

Ramnauth had four sons, *viz.*, Kissennauth, Bydonauth, Roopnauth, and Kantonauth. The eldest died while his father was alive, without issue in consequence of which the estate was left by Ramnauth at his death bed, to Bydonauth the eldest of the three surviving sons.

Bydonauth managed the estate for many years with great ability. He reduced much useless expenditure of his household, and looked carefully into the accounts. But as to his personal expenses he was rather extravagant. He always went to the extreme of foppery in his dress and like a woman was fond of gold and jewels. He never sat on his musnud without being gorgeously and brilliantly attired. He generally wore a serpetch kalca worth about forty lacks of rupees ! It was made of the purest diamonds and held with the finest rubies.

At this time Meer Kasseim was waging a crusade against the Zemindars and other natives of rank and influence for

their attachment to the British interests. As Bydonauth also had, from the beginning, shewn a friendly feeling towards the English, he was enrolled in the general list of those whom the viceroy had selected out for a signal vengeance. Whereupon Bydonauth became a prisoner in his hand and was sent to the fort of Moonghir with many others such as Rajah Ramnarain the governor of Dacca, the wealthy Jogut Set, the Roy Royan & Co. We all know the tragical end which awaited these unhappy men at Moonghir. Ramnarain, the profoundest Arabic scholar of the age was drowned in the river with a bag of sand tied to his neck. What could be more pathetic than those four lines of poetry which he composed a few moments before his death ! But alas nothing could induce the tyrant to shake off his resolution. He remained as firm and immoveable as the rock of the place itself* where the unfortunate Rajah met his watery graves. Jogut Set, the wealthy banker, was rolled down to the river from the ramparts of the fort and Rajbullub with many others was flayed alive. But fortunately a better fate was reserved for Bydonauth. He took advantage of a dark stormy night and bribing the prison guard, returned by hasty marches to his Zemindary.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the people of Denajpoor upon seeing their beloved Rajah once more in his native domain. They one and all attributed this miraculous escape from the tyrant's grasp to some divine ordination. Thanks giving were therefore offered to Kallia Kanto and other tutelary deities ; and alms and charities were bestowed upon Bramins and Bystubs as rewards for the blessings they poured forth for the safe arrival of the Rajah.

However upon returning home, Bydonauth found his musnud occupied by his younger brother Kantonauth who had secured it by bribing the officers of the Nabab. Bydonauth immediately repaired to the court of Moorshedabad and

* There is a rock in the river near the fort of Moonghir which in the rainy season becomes extremely dangerous for boatmen to pass by it.

laid his complaint before Meer Jaffer who ordered an enquiry to be instituted into the usage of the family regarding the right of succession to the Zemindary. It was proved to him by the most satisfactory evidence, that the claim of the elder brother to the estate was, on no occasion, superseded by that of the younger whatever might be his rank and influence in other respects. Explanations and precedents were at the same time adduced from other respectable Hindu families touching the above question. These, together with the hereditary customs of his own family, served to strengthen the undisputed claim of Bydonauth to the Zemindary. He was accordingly placed in the musnud by the Nabab's own men deputed for the purpose, and obtained 22 suits of Khaloat and the title of Maharajah Dherajgee.

Bydonauth died in the year 1779, leaving Radhanauth, his adopted son in possession of the estate.

Radhanauth was indeed the most profligate character that ever disgraced the annals of the landed aristocracy in Bengal. Puffed up with the possession of so large an inheritancy, he was led to imagine that every thing upon earth was made for the gratification of his desires. He was proud, arrogant and licentious. His extravagance and love of women had no bounds. He had in his service, twelve hundred horsemen who escorted him wherever he went. There were also three hundred elephants all caparisoned in the costliest manner. These were kept especially for the purpose of hunting which the Rajah was excessively fond of. He had therefore invited the most expert huntsmen from all parts of Hindustan whose number exceeded two thousands. His love of women was alike great. It is said that Cashmere and Delhi were ransacked for the finest girls to adorn his bed chamber.

The expense of maintaining the above establishment was so enormous that in a few years it drained all the wealth accumulated by his ancestors. At last when the government revenue fell into arrears a letter was addressed to him by the Council in Calcutta informing him of the mismanagement of his property, and to reappoint Dewan Ramcanto and Lala

Manick Chand whom his father had employed at a high salary for their valuable knowledge in accounts and Zemindary matters and who were now discharged for no other crime than their telling him to act according to his rank and dignity. They—the Council—further advised him to look and manage his estate himself, and to remove Rambullub and Shambullub (two worthless favorites) from their connexion with the management of this Zemindary, as they, in their capacity of Dewans did every thing to promote their own interests at the sacrifice of that of their master. But the infatuated Rajah paid not the least regard to these sage admonitions of the Council, but continued to keep up his mirth and festivity without caring what would happen to him in future. In consequence of this wilful and sad neglect to look into what concerned his interests he lost many of those rich and flourishing Pergunnahs which had been acquired by the industry and talent of Ramnauth. For as soon as the Council heard that the Rajah was obstinately bent to his pleasures and amusement they put them up to sale and by that means realized the arrear due to government for upwards of two years.

Radhanauth was as lax in his morals as in his religious belief. He had no fixed and established faith in any religion, weather cock upon every change of circumstances, and society. At one time he was a pure and rigid Sackto, then a Bystub and at last a Mahomedan. In conformity with the doctrine of the last mentioned religion, he used to perform the ceremony of dolia every year and upon one occasion, he expended four lacks of rupees in a spirit of rivalry, with that of the Nizamut of Moorshedabad.

Radhanauth was succeeded by his adopted son Gobindonauth, after whom came Tarrucknauth, the present and surviving heir to an estate once so rich and extensive.

The foregoing is but a succinct account of the great and most opulent family of Denajpoor. It stood for more than 170 years in peace and prosperity till the follies and extra-

vagancies of Radhanauth gave it a deathblow from which it never recovered.

In connexion with the above facts I cannot omit mentioning one singular custom prevalent in this family. I allude to the care and vigilance kept over its seraglio. Deeming that the boats and bars and eunuchs were not always the safeguards for conjugal felicity the Denajpoor Rajah had placed on all sides of it a body of female sentinels, whose number exceeded about one hundred ! These were armed with shields and swords and paid handsomely by the Rajah. So strictly did they perform their duties that they would not allow any man to the household, may not even the Rajah, to enter the threshold of the harem at an unusual time ! The Rajah's visit to it was once in a week when the handmaids of the Ranee came and escorted him to the apartment.

9 April 1957

THE MUTINIES

The disbandment of the 19th N. I. had produced no effect on the sepoy army, or, if it had any effect, it is to widen the estrangement previously existing between the troops before whom the penal example was set and their employers. The 34th N. I. is described to be in a state of not only open mutiny, and so great is the distrust felt in its loyalty and good faith, that its men have been withdrawn from the more responsible guards, and its prisoners are guarded by parties told off from the other regiments of the brigade. These latter regiments, no doubt, sympathise to no small extent with their brethren of the marked corps, and the anxiety of government as well as the country remains unabated. How long this state of things will continue, how it can be brought to a termination, and how it will terminate, are questions to which no answer can be found. The immediate attention of the military authorities of the country ought undoubtedly to be directed to measures for the extrication of the state out of the present difficulties, but

this also is the time for taking into consideration how future difficulties of a similar kind are to be prevented from arising. Mutinies are not rare occurrences in the Indian armies. Unfortunately, they have become more frequent of late than in the earlier periods of British Indian history. If any indication in the circumstances of the times be clear or definite it is that the whole system of our military organization should be recast. That indication should no longer be disregarded. Enough for the day are the evils thereof has been the conviction which has dictated the policy of our military authorities in times of such trouble. Regiments mutiny; they are coaxed into obedience. Or, if that be found impracticable, they are disbanded. The public during the pendency of the evil, are clamorous for military reform. But no sooner does the evil subside from view than the necessity for remedial measures slips out of the mind, and the army is again left to demoralize itself until another manifestation of the progress of the evil puts all in a temporary frenzy of ill-concealed terror and vexation.

It is evident this time no measures of palliation or of temporary effect will suffice to bring back to or maintain the sepoy army in the state of habitual and perfect obedience to its employers in which it should be. All the cartridges in the stores of Bengal may be burned before the eyes of the men, yet they will not cease to murmur. The disaffection is too deep-rooted to be removed by such means. The officers have been disbelieved, their assurances have been set aside as of no value, their word of honor has been condemned, their persons have been despised. Such feeling have not been engendered in a day, and they cannot be cured in a day. It is admitted on all hands that a permanent change has come on in the relations of the men to their officers, and in the spirit of the army. Stiff articles of war or increased or diminished severity in their application or the grant of fresh privileges and rewards will not re-establish the sepoy army in the position of undoubted loyalty from which it conquered India for Great Britain. An organic change, a radical reform, a recasting of the whole

of the easy existence, convert these men into large landholders, and while you afford them opportunities of exercising some of the powers they have lost, and make their descent into private life less abrupt, you incorporate them with the settled aristocracy of the land, the order most interested in and inclined to the support of existing power.

9 April 1857

LATTYALISM IN BENGAL (Editorial)

This journal has been charged with promulgating certain unsound principles of social morality in connection with the employment of professional lattyals. We have said that lattyalism is a domestic institution which has its uses in this country, and we do not feel inclined to retract our opinion. Two of the most recent instances which have come under our observation will be cited here to illustrate our position.

The first is one in which a friend connected with this journal is personally concerned. He is a resident of a village about twenty miles distant from Calcutta and only five miles from the station of Baraset which is the seat of a district magistrate. The talookdar of that village some years ago, made an attempt to enhance the rents of another village named Kadpore, in consequence of which all the ryots, poor as they were, being unable to meet the demand and at the same time resist him successfully, sold their jummas to a relation of the friend alluded to, exacting from him a promise, as they could fully rely on his word that he would never allow his relation to tyrannize over them, and that he would try his influence with the Zemindar to effect an amicable settlement of all their differences. They also applied for a mutation of names *i.e.*, Kharij Dakhil, to the said talookdar, who, influenced by our friend, at first showed every inclination to accede to their prayer, but afterwards broke his faith, and instead of taking rents from the new purchasers of the jummas and relinquishing his claim to higher rents, employed a body of lattyals

and began to tyrannize over the ryots in the usual manner. In the meantime, a creditor of the talookdar having obtained a decree against him in the Supreme Court of Calcutta he (the talookdar) made his whole property benamee in the names of two persons, one a relation and the other a friend of his. The benameedars are now following his footsteps under his direction. Last year, Mr. Hope, the late Joint Magistrate of Baraset, having, in a certain case between the said benameedars and the Sheriff's sale purchaser of the talookdar's property, taken recognizances to the extent of 2000 rupees from the sons of one of the benameedars, who is a female, binding them over not to disturb the peace for a year, no annoyance and lattyalism were to be met with in the village during a whole year. But the twelve months had scarcely expired when they resumed their former practice of coercing the ryots. Some of them complained to the Joint Magistrate of Baraset, but so intimidated were the villagers, by the cruelties and violent acts of the talookdars and lattyals, that our friend, who had previously considerable influence in the village could not, by exerting his utmost, produce a single witness from even among his own tenants to prove the just complaints of the people. Finding no other remedy he began to adopt measures for effecting an amicable settlement, but failed in them also. Despairing of all lawful means he employed three "men" and instructed them to circulate a rumour that he would employ more in case there appeared need for it. The talookdars thinking that it would be difficult for them to maintain their position if lattyals were employed against them, stole a march and collected a large body of men and attached our friend's house with the view of frightening his men and obliging them to leave his service. The attack proving unsuccessful, they made the fareedar falsely report to the Magistrate to the effect, that our friend's gomastah had collected a body of lattyals and was about to break the peace, and poured a host of obsequious witness into the court. The gomastah presented a petition to the Joint Magistrate praying him to summon all independent men in the village, who were likely to speak the truth,

and take their depositions before him. That functionary summoned then through the Darogah but none appeared. Collisions became more and more frequent. The talookdars again collected a large body of lattyals and attacked our friend's house with the avowed purpose of not only plundering it but also insulting all its inmates, male and female. This time the resistance was somewhat effectual. The aggressors were repulsed and one or two of them were slightly hurt.² The event, however, removed the impression formerly created in the minds of the villagers that the talookdars could do any thing they liked, and many of the ryots have begun to appear and speak the truth before the Magistrate and Darogah.

The second instance is one equally instructive. The village of Begumpore in the district of Hooghly and within the jurisdiction of the deputy magistracy of Serampore, was some years ago purchased by the Deys of Serampore, a family which has grown wealthy by commerce, and the close view of whose untaxed wealth has had a great effect in modifying the political economy of our contemporary of the *Friend of India*. The Deys, like all new Zemindars, proceeded to enhance the rents of their newly purchased estate. The tenants resisted. The usual modes of coercing ryots, distrains and arrests on summary process, were employed, but without much effect. The entire village remained firm, and would not give in to the Zemindar. Lattyals were sent to compel them to execute agreements to pay rent at enhanced rates. Some of the poorer tenants were in this manner brought to obey their landlord. The more considerable tenants were still obstinate. Their rent-free lands were sequestered by the Zemindar ; but the latter could obtain actual possession of very few of them. Additional lattyals were now poured into the village with instructions to annoy and insult every recusant tenant and his family, intercept suitors for redress and witnesses cited by them, and to sustain generally a system of terrorism in the village. Some of the tenants complained to the Deputy Magistrate of Serampore of the outrages committed upon them. The Zemindar's house is only a few yards distant from the Magistrate's cutchery, and

his lattyals succeeded in carrying off the complainants. More than one batch of complainants were intercepted on the way to Serampore. At last a batch of twelve entered the cutchery, and pointed out to the Magistrate the Zemindar's people lounging in his neighbourhood to intercept witnesses and suitors. The Magistrate dispersed them, but no sooner was he out of sight than the men returned to their posts. The Darogah was ordered to protect the complainants from personal outrage, but he actually pleaded want of time. We may at once end two tedious stories by letting our readers know that the ryots of Begumpore have enlisted a due amount of physical force and are now comparatively safe.

A despicable weak magistrature forms the basis and the support of the lattyal system.

9 April 1857

THE CONDITION OF THE RYOT IN BENGAL

The petition of the Protestant Missionaries in Calcutta to the Legislative Council upon the subject of the Sale Law professes to convey the views and wishes of the ryot population on that important measure. Irrespective, therefore, of the intrinsic merits of the document, it deserves the most attentive consideration at the hands of our legislators and the public. It is rather a remarkable fact that, in a question so nearly affecting the social and political condition of the mass of our countrymen, they should have to be represented by a body of foreigners. That fact, however, raises one suspicion: is the petition a fair or an accurate statement of the views and wishes of the ryots of Bengal? Do they really derive that the revolutionary expedient by which Mr. Grant endeavours to give security and protection to under-tenures be adopted? Will it be a boon to them to multiply the number and grades of middlemen between them and their Zemindars? Lastly, do they seek destruction of the great interests which have grown out of the permanent settlement and whose existence depends upon the perfect maintenance of the

conditions of that settlement ? To all these queries, we believe, an answer uniformly negative is to be returned. The petition is simply an expression of the opinions and sentiments of a body of philanthropic gentlemen, holding views generally of the most democratic character, and led by the peculiarities of their situation to adopt a partisan course of conduct. Political partisanship, when it does not degenerate into factiousness, when it is not guided by gross ignorance, nor uses weapons that are forbidden to the honorable man, is an offence either to society or to morals. The Missionaries have undoubtedly acted a generous part in advocating the cause of a class really weak in influence and power. In accepting, therefore, the petition of the Missionary gentlemen on the Sale Law only as it will be, according to the forms of the law of the Legislative Council, received by that authority, namely, as the petition of those who have put their names to the document, we mean not to disrespect the petitioners nor seek to detract from the weight of their testimony and arguments.

The petition renders an unqualified support to Mr. Grant's project for giving security to under-tenures. If that had been the sole object of the petitioners, they might have, and probably would have, contented themselves with a briefer exposition of the merits of that measure. But the petitioners avail themselves of this opportunity to enter into what they have been pleased to call "their views generally of the position of the cultivating classes in this presidency",—a subject that might well occupy a far larger number of paragraphs than have sufficed to express the opinions of the Missionary gentlemen. Their views of the ryot's position, as developed in this petition, are however confined to one aspect of the whole question they have undertaken to discuss. They content themselves with drawing attention to the antagonism of interest and feeling which is alleged to subsist between the class of landlords and the class of tenants in this country. The petition dwells but upon one idea. The Zemindars have more power than the ryots ; and the former use that power to oppress the latter. So complete is the possession taken by this idea of the minds of the petitioners that, in a

document professing to give "a general view of the position of the ryot" not a word occurs, not an allusion is made, to the effects of the planting, mining, and other industrial systems, of the system of commissariat purveyance and public supply, upon the condition of the ryot, and even the defect of the police and judicial systems are only referred to in order to point out how they offer to the Zemindar greater facilities of oppression than to the ryot means of resistance. The petition, therefore, we contend, ought neither to be taken as a genuine representation of the wishes and feelings of the ryot population nor as exhibiting a general view of their position.

We do not feel ourselves called upon now to enter into an examination of the merits of Mr. Grant's scheme. The subject has been discussed over and over in these columns, and the petition has brought forward no new argument to its favor except what is contained in the...scheme. The mode in which that has been drawn betrays much greater ignorance of the real character of the rival schemes than we expected to find in a paper otherwise exhibiting considerable ability. The petitioners have failed to apprehend the fact that the difference between the two schemes consists only in the length of time each would assign to the duration of the permanent settlement. Even, however, if Mr. Grant's bill be such as the petitioners describe it, would it be a boon to the ryot? It will, as the Missionaries affirm, convert middlemen into Zemindars. But if the having "a permanent interest in the soil" would make middlemen the protectors of their dependent cultivators, why is it that the present race of Zemindars who have a permanent interest in the soil are such oppressors as the petitioners describe them. We do not see that the petition points out any other way in which the Bill is to benefit the cultivating classes.

On the whole, we do not consider that the petitioners have succeeded in making out a good case for the interference of the legislature in the manner of Mr. Grant's Bill with the present legal position of the ryot population to protect them from the oppression of their landlords. We appeal to any man who has had any experience of the ills of ryot life, to any

one who has ever undertaken, professionally or unprofessionally to defend a ryot from the persecutions of his Zemindar, to say whether the petitioners have hit upon the real disadvantages under which the ryot labours in such a contest. The petitioners in their animosity against the Zemindary class have put forth statements startlingly in discordance with notorious facts which utterly vitiate the sounder portions of their argument. To seriously affirm at this time of day that the condition of the Bengal ryot has deteriorated since the settlement, or that the Zemindars have no interest in the prosperity of their tenants, or that they do not perceive that interest would detract from the weight of a representation far better reasoned than the one we have under review. We admit the necessity of legislation in the special interest and on special behalf of the ryots of Bengal. But we are not convinced that their condition will be bettered in the slightest degree by pensioning off the present race of landholders, and installing the various tribes of middlemen who now cover three-fourths of the surface of Bengal into the legal and social position of Zemindars.

16 April 1857

REPORT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS FOR THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT (Review)

Social reform is a sacred subject to meddle with. It involves the upheaving of new standards of thought and conduct in opposition to those to which the scar of ages has imparted a solemn reverence, which have passed through many battle fields in the act of restraining the passions of men within the bounds of public security, which bear heraldic emblems of peace, faith and omnipotence. Social reform is a whistle in the mouths of social boys, a common watch-word between intelligences otherwise disjointed—it is the Gordian knot of a nation's destiny which each adventurous dabbler in practical ethics is tempted to try his ingenuity in unravelling. But how few are endowed with the ability to conceive or the

spirit to carry out innovations in the habits of a nation, which are at once useful as reforms and calculated to enlist the general sympathy of mankind. Those to whom the world is indebted for gigantic strokes of thought and genius, whose action has convulsed society and uplifted from the minds of entire populations weights which ages of ignorance of false philosophy had accumulated upon them, like Pelion heaped upon Ossa, are not every day creations in nature. They start in to existence at particular epoch's of the world's history. Either they are ordinary men whom a peculiar and extraordinary combination of circumstances has armed with a will of adamant and a soul of fire or they are men of extraordinary strength and calibre of mind who have bent the most antagonistic and incongruous elements to their purposes, and breathing the fierce spirit by which they themselves are governed into those whose aid and co-operation they seek, succeeded in moving society with the lever of Archimedes and re-adjusting its construction according to a rational principle. Such a reformer of men was Jesus Christ of Judea, such was Mahomet of Mecca—such was Martin Luther of Germany—such was Nanuck of the Punjab. They reared their creeds in times least favorable to their mission. They were persecuted, but they triumphed in the end. Their success arose from their indomitable resolution and a clear appreciation of the object of their avatarship. They did not compound with folly, they entered into term only when the fundamental principles of their faith were beyond every danger of being seized as hostages. Hardly one of the present reformers of Bengal has the sympathy of even a substantial fraction for the people of this country. They know not or affect not to know that the game of *le roi le vout* is but little understood beyond the Ural mountains, and that in civilized countries social reform is the work more of the head than of the hands. A cannonade from the opposite bank of the stream, without making any damage to well entrenched prejudices, serves only to alarm to pride of the men whom it is sought to subdue and chafe their spirit into more determined opposition. It is nevertheless a cheering contemplation that

educated natives, however small their numbers, have published a crusade against the evils which encumber native society ; and though the means adopted by them for re-organizing the national habits be so sometimes obnoxious to man serious objections—yet the hope—that, as time and baffled labor point out more judicious forms of attack, there will not be wanting heads to direct with prudence and hands to act with vigor—sustains us through the present reverses.

The Social Reform Society which meets at the house of Roy Kissory Chand Mitter appears, from the report of its proceedings for the past year, to have discussed and labored to carry out important measures of reform. It sent up to the Legislative Council the first petition against Poligamy, and it has followed up the efforts of others with another representation on the same subject. It proposed a new marriage act as applicable to the marriage of all classes of the population. Its Secretary and some of its members have afforded practical aid to the cause of female education by sending their daughters to the Bethune Female School for tuition. It has formed a committee for devising means for spoiling the fun of the atrocious men who bore themselves during the churruck poojah. It offered a prize for a graphic account of the Indian ryot's condition, which unfortunately no boy could properly give—thus frustrating the generous intentions of the Society. Its Secretary and some of its members went as guests at the marriage of a couple of Hindoo widows, and thereby added strength to those committed to the promotion of that reform. In fine, the Society attempted many things, and it failed ; the blame rests not with those who evinced an earnest spirit and great moral courage in defying popular prejudices—but with deluded and ungrateful men who could not appreciate the motives and the worth of their benefactors. The report before us has lost much of its interest from the want of a list shewing the the gentlemen who constitute the Association for Hindoo Social Reforms. That list, we understand, includes almost every name distinguished in Bengallee society for intelligence instead with the other ingredients of social position.

The report in conclusion thus sums up the results of the Society's past labors and its prospects :

"Your committee in bringing this connected though necessarily brief view of the labors of the Association to a close, cannot but express their unfeigned regret, that so little should have been achieved during the past year. But it cannot be called a year of disappointment. It was marked by one of the proudest triumphs that was ever achieved over ignorance and superstition. The fetters of the once unhappy widow have fallen off, and the time is not distant when a Hindoo woman would cease to be regarded as a piece of household property. The magnitude of the evils with which the Association has to deal and the disproportion of the end proposed to the agencies available will sufficiently account for the apparent insignificance of the results attained.

The venerable institutions of our country, its immemorial, though unnatural customs, its antiquated though absurd prejudices, cannot be exterminated in a day. The Association must labor on for years before its exertions can be crowned with full success. But it is impossible not to be impressed with the importance of the changes that have already been effected. When your committee consider what was the state of the Hindoo mind a few years ago, and contrast it with what they now see—when they remember the once dead level as ignorance and its first breaking up—how the entire national mind was dwarfed by superstition and fettered by prejudices—how it has since begun to throw off the fetters—has risen above Brahminical domination and asserted its independence, they do not despair of the cause of Social Reform and cannot but feel that there is ample cause for thankfulness to the Almighty Dispense of Events."

23 April 1857

ARMY REFORM

The recent mutinies will have done a great and lasting benefit to the country, if they can but secure for a few months the continuance of that earnest attention to the subject of army reform which is now paid to it from every side. It is felt, rather than understood, that the reform needed is a radical one, that a complete re-organization of the army is necessary, that the military strength of the country must be modelled altogether under new conditions. This feeling universal as it is, has not yet led to the formation of any definite opinions as to the particular reforms to be adopted. The proposals heard from every quarter carry on them an appearance of vagueness not very encouraging even to speculation. Yet there is an obvious tendency in the opinions put forth of late on the subject of army reform to converge towards a few points. The reduction in the bulk of battalions, the addition for European officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, to the strength of sepoy regiments, the formation of a staff corps, the excision from the army of the civilians who are borne on the rolls, the abrogation of the seniority system in the promotion of native officers, the infusion of various and adverse nationalities into the ranks, the increase of European troops to keep in awe and duty the sepoy army, the irregularization of native corps of the line, the vesting commanding officers with despotic power over their men, the infusion of additional strictness into discipline, the weeding regiments of invalids, the reform of the recruiting system, and lastly a fresh graduation of the ranks and re-distribution of the pay of the commissioned officers, are so many nostrums exhibited to restore health and efficiency to the military organ of the state. We think that in the scheme of reform sketched below, the views of most military reformers will be found adjusted into a consistent shape and stated with some degree of distinctness.

It is, in the first place, absolutely necessary to increase the

strength of the European force in India. With every extension of the boundaries of British India the state has come into contact with nations superior in physical vigour and martial energy to those from whose hands the country was first wrested. To cope with these neighbours and to endure the climate of the frontiers British soldiers are better fitted than Indians. Again, there are European enemies to the British power in India, and a large force of European soldiers can alone inspire those enemies with respect for that power. Furthermore, the sepoy army in its best state must have an exemplar and a check in the European force retained in the country. The sepoys are acted upon by so many influences that implicit reliance cannot always be placed upon their devotion. We shall be the last to deny to the sepoy army the merit of fidelity and loyalty and high soldierly feeling, but they are occasionally liable to fall into grievous errors to which they hesitate not to sacrifice their duty and their interest. Lastly, the maintenance of a large number of European regiments will afford the means of educating in their duty the officers who under the system we propose are to command and lead the sepoys.

In the second place, the strength of the sepoy army must be reduced. The number of regiments and battalions may remain the same as now, but the bulk of each should be passed down to manageable proportions. We believe in no army in the world does a regiment contain in time of peace so large a body of soldiers as in the Indian army. Eleven hundred rank and file constitutes as mass much too unwieldy for the ordinary means of discipline and command. It has been suggested that the number in a corps of the line should be reduced to eight hundred sepoys. This would but slightly remedy the evil, and but compromise the principle on which the reduction is recommended. We would propose the reduction of each regiment of the line to half its present complement of officers and men. A battalion of five companies will in the hands of a regimental staff of average merit, form a handy compact body both garrison and field service. The

benefit to discipline must be great, and specially under the plan of officering we shall presently touch upon. There is another view of the subject: in the sepoy army disaffection and mutinies progress by whole regiments at a time, and disbanding a whole regiment is far from being infrequent. The disaffection and the disbanding of five hundred men is of course a lesser evil than that of a thousand.

The next reform ought to be made in the mode of officering the sepoy army. We believe the conviction is now stronger than ever that the mere presence of a large number of European commissioned officers with a sepoy regiment does not increase its efficiency or sustain its discipline. The fact has remained unanswered that the irregular regiments, both horse and foot, have never exhibited those feelings of discontent, disobedience and mutiny which have disgraced so many corps of the line. This fact leads but to one conclusion, namely, that it is better to have a few highly qualified officers with a native regiment than to have many officers with indifferent qualifications. And that conclusion is supported by analogy and reason. The organization of the sepoy army is, as we have already had frequent occasion to remark, in many respects peculiar. The soldiery of the native army is composed of a class of men susceptible to moral influence more than the soldiers of other armies. The officers of that army should, therefore, in point of intellectual attainments, be superior to the officers of other armies. It is not the half-taught lad scarcely yet sufficiently weaned from his sports; it is not the dashing young gentleman with anxieties divided between an accumulation of tradesmen's bills and the fashionable incidents of the station; nor is it yet the narrow-minded illiberal Englishman who believes that naught good can come out of the Galilee of Indian nature, that can form an efficient or even a harmless sepoy officer. The gentlemen, then, who are to exercise command in the sepoy army must be selected with a reference as special to their individual qualifications as is supposed to be had in elections to the staff. It would not do to post young ensigns to sepoy regiments with reference

merely to their order of nomination or their relationship to commanding or senior officers. It would not do to have officers who are not gentlemen enough to speak to a veteran subadar in terms not positively uncivil placed in command over a body of men each of whom conceives himself to be a born and by profession a gentleman.

How and whence and from among whom is this selection to be made? The answer is easy. With a large European force, a large number of European commissioned officers must always be employed. With a diminished native army, there will be a demand for a smaller number of sepoy officers. When an officer's place becomes vacant in a sepoy regiment, let it be filled up with the best man with a commission that the lists of the European regiments can supply. It is needless to say that many inducements consistent with economy may be held forth to officers to prefer employment with and even to be ambitions of selection for, the sepoy army. A European regiment is always a good school for officers. Service in it teach a young man to control his temper, be circumspect in his own behaviour before his inferiors, and reconciled to that frequent exercise of duty which, however ridiculed under the name of martinetism, lies at the basis of all discipline. In a European regiment, the junior officers are perforce taught to study a general correctness of demeanour in cantonments. Habits of self-command and steadiness are formed which are of eminent service to a commander of armed men. The elect among such officers, elected moreover with special reference to personal qualifications, cannot fail to preserve the sepoy army in the state it should be in.

The three heads of reform we have adverted to are those which are calculated most to give a shock to conservative notions on the subject of army reform. Yet they will, on closer acquaintance, be found not materially to differ from ideas very current on that subject. If the European army be increased, the native regiments reduced to a manageable strength, and they be officered with gentlemen selected for their special qualifications, no one will contend that the fighting capacity of the Indian

army will not have been sensibly augmented. Nor, we humbly submit, will the causes of mutinous disaffection in the native army have been less effectually obviated. Upon the organization we have sketched may be engrafted other reforms the utility of which it is not our purpose to deny. The recruiting system may be placed upon a better footing than it now is upon with considerable benefit to the physical character and the internal feeling of the regiments. The gradation of commissioned ranks and their rates of pay may be revised, and the plan of officering the native army we have suggested calls for a revision, with a view to relieve the junior branches from their present state of depression and afford them inducements to persevere in the noble task of commanding aliens to obedience and extorting from armed mercenaries a no mercenary fealty to their common Sovereign.

30 April 1857

ARMY REFORM

In our last issue we had barely opportunity to refer to the three heads of the reform which in our judgment seemed to be urgently called for by the present state of the native army, and we had intended to return to the subject before we were so courteously invited by the Hurkaru to continue the discussion. How to keep the sepoy army in the highest state of efficiency attainable by it is a question always of great importance. Recent events have made it the question of the day.

Objections have been raised by our contemporary to the second and third heads of our scheme. We had proposed the reduction of the strength of regiments to half the number of companies of which they are at present composed. Our contemporary moves an amendment, and proposes that the regiment should be composed of eight companies of eight rank and file each. We at once admit the Hurkaru's proposal to be an improvement, and readily accede to it. But the most serious of our contemporary's objections lies to the third head of our

scheme. "The great hold", says he, "which many officers possess over the affections of their men arises from the intimate knowledge attained by those officers of the peculiarities of the native character. An officer posted to a native regiment finds himself at once compelled to study the characters and wants of the men under his command. He does this too in the dawn of life when the mind is most open to impressions. Were he sent to a European regiment he would trouble himself little about natives ; he would look upon them as people are apt to do now, as an inferior and conquered race. He would be too young probably to appreciate the advantages prospectively attainable by a study of their character. The attempt to qualify officers for the command of natives by first sending them to learn their duty with Europeans would therefore in our opinion signally fail."

These are plausible arguments, but they have one great drawback : they have not stood the test of actual experience. The system of officering the native army which is so strongly upheld by our contemporary has resulted—in what ? In the annihilation of all moral influence of officers over their men. Who can read the account of the murderous attack upon the Adjutant of the 34th N.I. without shuddering at the alienation of feeling manifested in the course of that most deplorable occurrence ? That the Sepoy should see his officer set upon by an assassin and that the officer should cry for help, and in vain, while a native commissioned officer should prevent the soldiers under his command from rescuing him, is an occurrence which can be accounted for only on the hypothesis that the European commissioned officers of the Bengal army have utterly lost their prestige. Are the officers of the sepoy army as a body distinguished for their knowledge of the native character ? Have they learnt to respect their professional obligations, and studied as they ought to do the peculiarities of the native character ? Is not the dawn of professional life the time when Sepoy officers prove themselves the last impressionable by whatever is good in the Sepoy's character ? The Sepoy officer, we still contend, must be a select man. He

must be one who in previous life must have been ambitious of being a Sepoy officer. The discipline of a European regiment imparts a thorough military education, and we believe that an officer who has been subjected to that discipline can never relax himself into the unmilitary character which (if the truth be spoken and hard truths forgiven) is to be recognized in the majority of Sepoy officers.

7 May 1857

THERE IS DANGER IN PROGRESS

And the Hurkaru has found it. Not exactly so. Too modest to take credit for a discovery not his own, he merely gives to the world what others, less both with their own reputations, know but withhold from it. Our contemporary thinks he expresses the silent convictions of many when he says that one cause of the disaffection now so extensively prevalent in the Sepoy army is the personal distinction earned by so many Bengallees—the influence they have gained over the government of the country—the consideration paid to their opinion by public men. The Bengallees, according to our contemporary, are despised by the natives of upper India from among whom the Sepoy army is principally recruited, and their advancement has filled the minds of those stern and simple sons of war with disgust. The article is written with consummate art. If the Indian public had Othello's susceptibility, the Calcutta Iago would have succeeded in poisoning their minds as effectually as the crafty Italian did the Moor's. Its tone is so subdued, its insinuations so subtle, its admonitions so mild, so candid in its caution, so disinterested in its spirit, so serious under the weight of its theme,—that one can scarcely be angry with the writer for his malice or laugh at him for the singularity of his opinions. Argument, as the Calcutta press has unanimously allowed, would be wasted upon him.

It seems to be an inevitable consequence of British rule

in India that the Bengallees and the Parsees should outstrip the rest of their Indian fellow-subjects in civilization, knowledge and political progress. Their capacity is greater, their mental superiority is superior; and despite Carlyleisms and Maculayisms mind will assert its superiority over brute force. Again, there are circumstances in the construction of Bengallee society which favour its advance in a peculiar manner. The Zemindary system has multiplied in the country the members of the class which own hereditary property, and hereditary property in land. If Carlyle and Macaulay were in any society brought in contact with a man who has inherited an estate worth a lac a year, and wears his clothes clean and decently, those worshippers of Roundheads and Filibusterers would simply make themselves ridiculous if they did not conduct themselves as all sensible men would do. There is nothing in greater contact between society in Bengal and in the North-Western Provinces than the position of the official classes in the two sections of the country. There, the official is the autocrat of Society; here he is barely tolerated to exist. There he is far higher than the head of the community; here the drawer of the largest salaries is daily and daily sinking into a secondary position. He may be a great man in his club or the mess of his regiment, but in every important question, the man of realized property makes his influence better and more publicly felt than the official on high salary. It is in the nature of things that he should do so.

The Hindoostanee sepoys may have marked all this, though capacity to mark social features which escape the observation of acute minds is hardly to be looked for among a body who really believe Lord Canning is come to convert them. The sepoys may envy the rise of Bengallees to power. But where, except among retailers of fifth-hand Carlyleisms and Macaulayisms, has the writer picked up the notion that the Hindoostanees "despise" the Bengallees? The civilisations and military cantonments in upper India teem with Bengallee clerks who, destitute of any claims to social consideration, are allowed to jostle the resident Hindoostanee gentry at nautches, melas and

tamashas, and whose presence is eagerly sought for by those people on festive occasions at their homes. The Bengallee is in the eyes of the Hindoostanee, the Baboo par excellence. The feeling runs through all classes of the Hindoostanee population.

The remarks of the Hurkaru suggest one grave consideration which it has been our duty, frequently to urge upon Indian politicians. It is essential to the progress and free development of the various nations which inhabit British India that the form and policy of its government should be federal. The same system of legislation and government which suffices to rescue a province on the Sutledge or the Indus or the Irrawaddy from anarchy and utter misery is felt as an encumbrance, a dead weight, upon the energies of the Bengallee population. There is more difference between the social characteristics and prospects of that population and the people of Scinde or of Pegue than between the condition of New England and that of Kentucky. To govern all the provinces in British India on the same principles and under the same system would be analogous to enforcing the doctrine of equality by reducing all to one dead level of savage pauperism.

14 May 1857

THE CONDITION OF THE SERVING CLASS

(Editorial)

Amongst the signs of the times we observe a steady and gradually advancing rise in the price to labor as well as in that of the necessities of life. The present rates are unprecedented in the history of the country. In seasons of draught and at periods of famine the rise in the value of food is the result of an extraordinary contingency which acts like a thunder clap in the means as well as in the result. But the market returns to its usual features as soon as the visitation is withdrawn. Trade assumes its accustomed place, prices fall to their old level and society returns to its usual position. But

causes which have tended to bring about the present state of things are permanent ; and we cannot tell if ever cheap provisions will again constitute the great distinguishing feature of Bengal. Within a few years, such a revolution has been effected in the economy of living that men wonder what could have happened to their money. To those that have a stationary income, that is, an income which cannot be multiplied by the operation of the causes that have produced the present crisis, the general rise in the price of almost every article which they are accustomed daily to consume has been creative of an amount of distress which those who know what it is to husband a few rupees between the oft-recurring wants of a large family, can alone appreciate. Every man is not, unfortunately, blessed with superfluous cash which he can either hoard up into a miser's treasure or waste in a luxurious and dissipated career of extravagance. The class that live from the hand to the mouth is by far the largest portion of animated creation. The class that lives from the hand to the mouth constitutes the principal element of a nation, and Political Economy labors to adjust its wants to a known and unerring remedial principal. It does fail in effecting a happy understanding between labor and capital, the evil genius that bars the wished for consummation is the antagonism between rich and poor which thwarts the progress of society, and is the Sebastopol before which the best rigged theories must encounter a defeat. The state of the labor market in Calcutta and its suburbs suggests the inference that either capital has increased or population decreased. Without either of these causes wages would not have risen to their present status. That the Railway has poured a large amount of wealth into the country is an established fact. It gives employment to innumerable men belonging to various trades and professions. It has altered the old proportion between capital and labor, and given altogether such an advance movement to the working classes, that their ideas of the necessities of life have expanded and comfort has assumed in their minds the position of an indispensable requisite. The result is that the day laborer

and the artizan have adopted habits of life to which they formerly could but aspire, and extended consumption has coincidentally produced enhanced cost of living. Another cause has helped to improve the labor market. The manufacture of gunny cloths has within a few years attained a place in the comity of the trades and manufactures of this part of the country second only to the growing of paddy. Men, women and even children of tender years, obtain ready good lucrative employment from capitalists engaged in the business. The work performed in the course of a single day puts into the pocket of the workman more than three times the amount which he could earn as a servant of field laborer. And while the pecuniary advantage is so extraordinary his social position has become much more independent. The ryot who only a few years ago could not find courage to talk to a well dressed person except with down-cast eyes and folded hands, now knows the value of his position, and the insolence of the laboring class is becoming a thorn in the way of respectable men. But this is not all. The fatal institution of caste ties down the hands of the well-born, and prevents them from adopting professions to which a slur is attached through prescriptive prejudice. The lower classes accordingly monopolise all the industry of the country, and the spread of education amongst them has further enabled them to invade the privileged professions even with great success. Thus, whilst men of caste have been pushed to the almost unique occupation of clerks in public offices in which there exists an amazing preponderance of supply over demand, injuriously affecting wages, the inferior orders are enabled to dictate their own terms in the settlement of the price of their labor and obtain a comfortable living, whilst their superiors are devising desperate shifts for making both ends meet. It is fortunate that the Hindoo can live almost upon nothing, and that Hindoo females are from the constitution of our society early taught the value of economy. Otherwise appalling destitution would have been the fate of those who are compelled to combat with fixed wages a sliding scale of prices, remaining stationary in their income whilst all other wages

are rising like a sea about them swamping the high ground on which they had hitherto stood.

14 May 1857

THE MUTINIES

The horrible details of mutiny and massacre of which rumours and reports have reached town during the last few days have fallen upon a state of public feeling utterly unprepared to receive them even after the seditious misconduct and disbandment of two regiments of the line. It was certainly known that a spirit of disaffection pervaded the entire native army; but there were specious reasons for supposing that could rise to the culminating point and manifest itself by deeds only in the distant and disliked cantonments of Bengal. The favorite stations of Meerut and Delhi have, however, been the scene of mutineering violence such as has no parallel in the military history of British India. Full particulars of the outbreak have not yet reached government, but the following narrative, compiled from what we conceive to be reliable sources, will afford our readers a connected view of its rise and progress.

Our readers are aware that eighty-five troopers of the 3rd light cavalry at Meerut had been sentenced by a court martial to various terms of imprisonment for mutinously refusing on the parade ground to receive and fire the cartridges served out to them. The whole regiment seem to have sympathised with the convicted mutineers, and to have spread the infection over all the native troops in the station. The 11th and 20th regiments of infantry were won over, and brought to join in the conspiracy. On the afternoon of Sunday, the 10th instant, the 3rd cavalry and 20th infantry, commenced the emeute by rushing out of their lines and calling upon the 11th to join them. The latter hesitated for a moment, but soon joined them. The officers hastened to the parade ground, and Colonel Finnis of the 11th endeavoured to pacify

them, but he was instantly killed by a sepoy of the 20th. The officers finding both expostulation and resistance useless retreated towards the barracks of the 6th carabineers for safety. The sepoys set fire to the officers' quarters, mess houses and every building in the vicinity and proceeded to massacre every European within their reach. There appears to have been some delay in bringing out the European troops, and they were compelled by the flames of the burning bungalows to make a detour in order to reach the grounds occupied by the native troops. Meanwhile the 3rd light cavalry had galloped off to the town jail where their convicted comrades were confined, broken into the establishment and released all the prisoners. Returning to the scene of the first outrage, they joined the infantry in the work of assassination and violence. Veterinary Surgeon Phillips and Lieutenant Dawson of the 3rd cavalry and the wife of the latter, Lieutenant Macnabb of the same regiment, Surgeon Christie, Captains Taylor and Macdonald of the 20th and the wife of the latter, Lieutenants Henderson and Pattle and Mrs. Chambers, wife of the Adjutant of the 11th N. I., and some other European residents of the station, male and female, including children were, besides Colonel Finnis, among those murdered. Neither sex nor age was spared. The appearance of the European troops made the mutineers desist in the perpetration of these atrocities, and to turn towards the road to fly. The horse artillery fired a few shots at them, and they were pursued by the carabineers. The mutineers had taken the road to Delhi, but the pursuit after them was soon given up in consequence, as is said, of the darkness of the night. On the way they murdered some European travellers. They seem to have reached Delhi the next day in numbers largely diminished by stragglers falling away. On their arrival at that city, their entrance was opposed, but the 38th light infantry and soon after the 54th and 74th turned out, and fraternised with them. They commenced immediately to murder their officers. The greater number of these latter, as well as other European residents of the city, were killed, including Mr.

Simon Fraser, the commissioner, and Captain Douglas, the commandant of the Palace Guards. Lieutenant Willoughby, the commissary in charge of the magazine blew it up to prevent its falling into the hands of the insurgents. It has been ascertained that he is alive. The names of Major and Mrs. Abbott and Captain and Mrs. Wallace of the 74th N. I., Captain and Mrs. De Teissier of the artillery, Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson and a Mr. Humphreys are mentioned as among those who have found safety at Allygurh. Captain De Teissier is said to have been escorted by his own Golan-dauz Company who refused to join the mutineers. The insurgents occupied the fort, deposed the King of Delhi whom they found unwilling to side with them, and proclaimed the heir apparent. They have since been compelled to resort to the plunder of the surrounding country for subsistence. The mutineers at Meerut had at the outset cut off the telegraphic lines between Delhi, Agra and Meerut, and the post beyond Allygurh is intercepted and uncertain. A company of sappers and miners at Meerut have since been reported to have shot their officers and fled towards Delhi. They were pursued by the carabineers, and many of them were killed ; the remainder have joined the insurgents.

The worst, we hope, has happened. The mutineers have reached their crisis, and cannot rise or extend further. We are, indeed, still anxious for the Punjab and the garrisons beyond it ; but we have substantial reasons to believe that no attempt like those which have proved so disastrously successful at Meerut and Delhi will be made by the troops in the farther west. Meerut, we are authentically assured, is now safe ; and by this time, doubtless, Delhi has been rescued from the hands of the mutineers. When punishment adequate to the offence shall have been administered to these offenders, the sepoy army will have been taught a lesson more effectual than any they have yet received. Government has been censured for dealing too leniently with the mutineers in Bengal. We can scarcely conceive what other punishment than dismissal from a most desirable service could be awarded to men who

at worst were misbehaving under a delusion, and were guilty of passive mutiny only. It would have hardly consisted with the principles and the dignity—not to mention the policy—of the Indian government to have made every soldier of the 19th and 34th regiments of Bengal infantry martyrs in the eyes of their countrymen, and such they would have been if the forfeit of their lives or liberties were exacted from them for persisting in a course of passive insubordination in obedience to what every one believes to be the dictates of their conscience. The few who committed over acts of mutiny and were convicted of the crime have been punished as severely as the most rigid disciplinarian could desire. As to the rest, it is the blindness of ungratified rage alone that prevents persons from seeing that the loss of existing means of livelihood, prospective advantages of no inconsiderable a value, and disgrace, want and inevitable misery are punishments of no slight a kind. These punishments, indeed, have not produced the exemplary effect expected of them. The peculiar nature of the evil is such as would baffle all legislative skill save that of a Draco. But the spirit of the times would not have brooked the immediate administration of too sanguinary a remedy; and the reputation of the British government would have suffered more from an intemperate use of its power and means than could be compensated for by the possible advantages of the violent course recommended. The conduct of the troops at Meerut and Delhi, however, has now removed all difficulty in the way of government. It may now act with a rigour proportioned to the urgency of the case. If every native soldier who has had a hand in that appalling outrage, and who was not compelled to join it by the intimidation of his comrades, were to pay with his life the forfeit of violated duty, offence would be done neither to justice nor to sound policy.

21 May 1857

THE METROPOLIS AND ITS SAFETY

The inhabitants of Calcutta are reasonably in dread of a sepoy emeute. The Asiatic idea of rebellion is confined to the murder of the reigning sovereign and the taking of his capital. And, indeed if these two acts are gone through, an Asiatic kingdom instantly and for ever changes its dynasty of rulers. The sepoys in and near Calcutta have already evinced a not very loyal disposition. The 25th N. I. just returned from Burmah, are accused of having actually entertained the idea of taking the fort. They are, however, unarmed. It is not impossible that they may yet seduce the native portion of the garrison of the guard in the public establishments, and attempt in Calcutta what their comrades have succeeded in doing at Delhi. At all events, the contingency is one which ought to be provided against, for the interests at stake are large, and should Calcutta be for a single day in the hands of an insurgent soldiery, the moral effect upon the country—already excited as it is—would be much greater than if one of the provinces on the Indus were lost.

We have one regiment of Europeans, Her Majesty's 53rd Foot, in the Fort. This regiment could well give an account of any number of sepoys within a fortnight's march of Calcutta, if they had not been encumbered with garrison duties. A party, we find, has already been told off to guard the suburbs of Allipore and Garden Reach. Another party of strength must be placed on the north of the town where the roads branch off towards the cantonments of Dum Dum and Barrackpore. The remainder can hardly afford detail in sufficient strength to cope with a thousand sepoys in the streets of Calcutta. Of the European regiments at Chinsurah, a detachment has already been sent to Benares where a large cantonment is now garrisoned entirely by native troops. The remainder must be kept in tact to assist in keeping the regiments at Barrackpore in order. The Company of Artillery at Dum Dum may be withdrawn thence at an emergency, but it should be remembered that there are native artillerymen at

Dum Dum, and that the wing of H. M.'s 84th Foot can do little at Barrackpore without the assistance of a battery. The available military strength for the internal defence of the metropolis is therefore small enough and there is some little ground for alarm. Now let us see what Government is doing for the safety of the town. Troops have been indented for from Burmah and Madras ; but if things do come worst, they can hardly arrive before the storm shall have blown over. Messages have been sent to Ceylon to intercept the re-inforcements despatched from England for China. That is a still more distant hope. It is said the Chief Commissioner of Police has given Government and the Chowringhee public assurances of safety. We wish the events in upper India had left us in a mood to laugh.

Two other schemes have suggested themselves to the public mind for ensuring the safety of the town. The first is the raising of a local militia. Such a body can be raised from the European and East Indian residents alone. Now, both these portions of the community are engaged in pursuits which utterly disqualify them from undertaking the active and serious duties of a militia. Their habits are of a kind as discordant with those of militia life as they can possibly be, and their time is not their command. The constant readiness to respond to call which constitutes the value of a regular army need not be looked for in a militia ; but the constant inability to turn out at a call except at a few convenient hours in the morning and evening is a positive disqualification. It is stated that the Governor-General is not unwilling to see the inhabitants of Calcutta enrol themselves into a militia. Probably His Lordship wishes them to exhibit an example of loyalty to the rest of Her Majesty's subjects here ; for he could scarcely have been so unobservant of the character of Calcutta society as not to have understood that a "Calcutta European Militia" is not likely to turn out a more formidable body than the London shopmen formed, when Napoleon's threat of invading England led those estimable citizens to practise the goose-step.

The other is a more promising scheme. Calcutta, as a port, has always a large floating population of sea-faring and other adventurous classes of people who are consummate masters of the art of street-fighting, with the fist as well as the pistol. These will be always available in case of need. It is only necessary to keep up an organization for bringing them properly armed to the scene of action when required.

We are speculating in the presence of a bare chance of a sepoy outbreak. For ourselves we cannot persuade ourselves to the belief that, rash and ignorant as the sepoys are, they will hurl themselves upon destruction rendered all the more certain by the utter and known impossibility of their obtaining either help or refuge.

21 May 1857

THE COUNTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT

That England's dominion over India is upheld by the sword is an essential article of the political creed of many, if not a majority of British politicians. That it shall have no other support but the sword is, unfortunately, the result, if not the object, of the labours of a no small section of British politicians. How slight is the hold the British government has acquired upon the affections of its Indian subjects has been made painfully evident by the events of the last few weeks. The native mercenaries who constitute the chief portion of the physical strength of the government have, for some time, been in mutiny, open or concealed. It is no longer a mutiny, but a rebellion. Perhaps, it will be said that all mutinies, when they attain a certain measure of success, rise to the dignity of a rebellion. But the recent mutinies of the Bengal army have one peculiar feature—they have from the beginning drawn the sympathy of the country. The sepoys who, in accepting service under the British government, neither relinquished the rights of citizenship nor abnegated national feelings, have been led to believe their national

religion in danger. They have rebelled against the authority which they have sworn to obey, and the for-sworn men are deemed by their countrymen justified in sacrificing a minor obligation to a paramount one. They have hazarded all their most valuable interest; and their countrymen view them as martyrs to a holy cause and a great national cause. The mutineers have been joined and aided by the civil population. They have hastened towards the ancient capital of the country where resides the remnant of the former dynasty to which are turned in times of political commotion the eyes of all Indian legitimists. Had there been the slightest ground for apprehending the injury which the sepoys already imagine to have received at the hands of the government, we could have laid the whole blame of the present troubled state of affairs on Government. But the ingenuity of malice will, it is hardly necessary to say, fail in finding such ground. It is a gigantic delusion that the country is labouring under. The first duty of government then is to endeavour to remove this delusion. The first attempt towards the attainment of this object has been made by the issue of the following proclamation by the Governor-General :

“PROCLAMATION :—The Governor-General of India in Council has warned the Army of Bengal, that the tales by which the men of certain Regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their religion or injury to their caste is meditated by the Government of India are malicious falsehoods.

The Governor-General in Council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only in the Army, but amongst other classes of the people.

He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindoos and Mussulmans, soldiers and civil subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly, as well as openly, by the acts of the Government, and that the Government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of caste for purposes of its own.

Some have been already deceived and led astray by these tales.

Once more then the Governor-General in Council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them.

The Government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect.

The Governor-General in Council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration, and he emphatically proclaims that the Government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their religion or caste, and that nothing has been, or will be done by the Government to affect the free exercise of the observances of religion by every class of the people.

The Government of India has never deceived its subjects, therefore the Governor-General in Council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies.

This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct, have shown their attachment to the Government and a well-founded faith in its protection and justice.

The Governor-General in Council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false guides and traitors who would lead them into danger and disgrace.

By order of the Governor-General of India in Council,

CECIL BEADON

Secretary to the Government of India."

There may be those who will construe this declaration of the Government of India into an act of concession—a confession of weariness. With such critics and politicians we have no common ground of thought or sympathy. They mark not the demeanour of the Indian people at the present crisis. If our testimony on such a fact is worth anything let the Anglo-Indian public have the benefit of it. There is not a single native of India who does not feel the full weight of the grievances imposed upon him by the very existence of the British rule in India—grievances inseparable from subjection to a foreign rule. There is not one among the educated classes who does not feel his prospects circumscribed and his ambition restricted by the supremacy of that power. At the present moment, the convic-

tion is ineradicably strong in the mind of every native—save the small circle in Bengal of those who have been indoctrinated into the mysteries of European civilization—that the British government is actuated by a fixed purpose of destroying the religion of the native races, and of converting them to Christianity. Women and children talk of it. The delusion may seem strange to our readers, but it prevails nevertheless. Delusions as strange prevail among Europeans respecting the character and motives of Asiatic communities. Yet the grievances felt and the delusion believed in have not neutralized in the mass of the Indian population the feeling of loyalty which the substantial benefits of the British rule has engendered. We believe the prevailing feeling is that any great disaster befalling the British rule would be a disastrous check to national prosperity. We do not deny, that a pettish desire to see the high handed proceedings of its officials rebuked and the insolence as it is thought, of the Anglo-Indian community checked to some degree countervails the more sober deduction. But, on the whole, the country is sound. The sympathy which the mutineers have found from the people extends no further than to a wish to see the British government humiliated to a certain extent. The Zemindars of the Meerut district have given shelter to the Europeans who were driven from Delhi by the violence of the mutineers, and undertaken the security of the dawk. The feeling which prompted that act was one of the genuine loyalty. A people feeling thus and acting thus are undoubtedly entitled to humane if not generous consideration.

It is not the time for dwelling upon the efficient causes of the outbreak which now occupies so large a share of public attention. Ere long, however, we trust, all causes of anxiety will have been removed. Meanwhile, we hold of no small value, every frank declaration which the Government may, at the present time, be impelled to make of the nature of that now promulgated. The Government of British India can afford to lay open its inmost thoughts on occasions of such evil. It rules over a people who have found the first elements of civil order under its auspices. It has for its allies and

neighbours and dependents princes who have in times of trouble have not hesitated to put forth all their strength in support of its power. It has a strength in the strength of its civilization, in the loftiness of its purposes, in its very loneliness in this vast continent, which will carry it through many such dangers as that now threatening it.

21 May 1857

THE MUTINIES

The week has been one of suspense and agitation. The burst of mutinous feeling which wrought such ... lamentable results at Meerut and Delhi has been succeeded by some weaker explosions at a few other army stations in the Upper Provinces. At Allyghur, a portion of the 9th N. I. have thrown off their masters, and proceeded to join the headquarters of the insurgents at Delhi. The conduct of this regiment has taken the public somewhat by surprise; for they were usually reckoned among the well-affected. Their mutiny, however, was not attended with any of those acts of atrocity which have cast such unutterable infamy upon the Meerut and Delhi mutineers. They civilly bade their officers adieu, and proceeded to join their fortunes to those of men who in their eyes already seemed to have assumed the empire of Hindoostan. The outbreak at Ferozepore appears to be considerably more serious. There are at that station, of native troops, a regiment of cavalry and two of infantry. The accounts communicated by authority to the local journals is that the two regiments, the 45th and 57th, mutinied. H. M.'s 61 Foot and two companies of European artillery turned out, and killed a member of the mutineers. Some men of the 57th returned their arms. The 45th are said to have been cut up to a man. The 10th light cavalry at the station is said to be staunch. The fort and magazine are safe. The native infantry at Cawnpore is stated to have manifested insubordination. Rumours of a sinister kind have also been heard from Oude. The grossly

incredible story of Agra having been taken by the rebels is mentioned merely to show to what extent malice may prompt and fear accept tales of this kind.

Meanwhile energetic measures have been taken to put insurrection down wherever it has a chance of making a head, and to rescue Delhi from the hands of the mutineers. The commander in chief has, we believe, by this time arrived before the city. He has brought with him a force which makes the immediate capture of the place a matter of certainty. Indeed, the announcement of the capture may be made here before these lines see the light. It is fearful to contemplate the scene which will probably follow the storming of the place. Quarter will, of course, be refused to a body of men who have forfeited even the privileges of rebel enemies. The tales of horror to which the acts of mutineers have given birth, as they rise in one's memory, obliterate all the feelings of commiseration that their desperate situation might otherwise excite. A cordon of troops drawn principally from the armies of the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Puttialah, Bhurtpore, and other principalities, surrounds the town, and makes escape impossible. Heavy as are their crimes, the punishment of the mutineers will be proportionately so. There is one cause of regret, but we fear it is irremediable. The people of Delhi, among whom we doubt not there are many innocent and loyal, will to a great extent have to share in the punishment due to the guilty rebels. The event cannot be helped. The rebels themselves seem to have some forebodings of the fate that awaits them. After the first burst of exultation which they felt on their finding themselves the masters of the ancient capital of the country, the more thoughtful among them perceived the hopelessness of the cause to which they had attached themselves. They perceived how small was the chance of their holding what they had taken, of success in averting a swift and merited doom. Many of them accordingly deserted their comrades in crime and made for their homes. Their way was perilous ; for the country was against them, the troops of government as well as of its allies were in wait for them, all hands were raised to smite them down. At

Etawah, a party of these fugitives were cut up by the police aided by the military. They were all pathans of Futtehpoore and the neighbouring districts ; others straggling away under similar circumstances have been caught and hung. Safety in resistance there can be none ; in flight it is extremely precarious. Yet, some of them made a dash on Haupper, and possessed themselves of the stud horses. They are now subsisting on the plunder they had secured, and by levying contributions on the neighbouring villages.

Throughout the Upper Provinces, the garrisons of the chief military stations are being secured and strengthened by quartering among them European troops. At Benares, the detachment of H. M.'s 84th which went up the other day from Chinsurah has probably arrived by this time. Allahabad will soon receive similar succour. The 1st Madras Fusiliers, which has arrived here within the week, will, if distributed between these two towns, amply suffice for their protection. Cawnpore alone remains to be strengthened, and its strength is the strength of Oude. If the accounts received yesterday turn out to be correct, a larger force of Europeans will now be required to quiet the town than might have sufficed to maintain its tranquility. H. M.'s 32nd Foot will certainly assure the safety of Lucknow ; but it is necessary that there should be an overwhelming force present to dissipate the vagrant fancies of the most deluded aspirers after insurrectionary success. Ample reinforcements are at hand. From Burmah and from Ceylon, a few days more will bring up two European regiments. At the same time, the force which has taken the field against the rebels before Delhi will have, in all probability, been disengaged and made available for the general protection of the country. We need hardly add that the very presence of European troops, however small their number be, at a military station is calculated to secure tranquility by offering a nucleus around which all the well-affected can gather. Meerut in this respect will be disregarded as an example ; while Ferozepore will afford an effectual warning to the mutinously disposed in every cantonment.

The return of tranquility, under all these arrangements, may

therefore soon be looked for. If any thing could strengthen this hope, it is to be found in the conduct of the population at large. The first advices from the chief scene of the insurrection led to the formation of a very unjust estimate of the loyalty of the local population. The misimpression has been effectually removed by the intelligence since received. The Zemindars in the districts immediately within the influence of the insurrectionary movement have not only afforded shelter to the fugitive Europeans from Delhi and Meerut, but have actively joined the authorities in putting down disturbances and even defending threatened places. The rebels have found no sympathy from the villagers whom they have plundered, or the higher classes whom they have placed in anxiety and disgust by their disorderly conduct, or from any class whose feelings are not utterly inhuman. The rebels have been signally disappointed in one great hope that no doubt inspired them when they defied the might of the Government of India. They have received no countenance from the princes and chiefs of the country. The promptitude with which—unsolicited—the Maharajahs of Gwalior, Puttialah, Jheend, and other principalities have come forward to support the cause of order in the British territories is as remarkable as the aid they have furnished the government is valuable. But a few weeks more, and the events which now agitate the whole length and breadth of the land will have subsided, and the country will have resumed its wonted appearance of peaceful progress and returned to more than its wonted real tranquility.

28 May 1857

LOYAL DEMONSTRATIONS

If anything, at the present moment, could compensate the nobleman at the head of affairs for his anxieties and cares, it is the spontaneous bursts of fervid loyalty and the expressions of unbounded confidence in the stability of the British government in this alien land that the occasion has called forth, and so fitly

called forth. The demonstrations of attachment to the existing rule which have so abundantly been made by every class of this vast and varied population since the mutinies have taken place, will have proved to Lord Viscount Canning that, whatever be his other difficulties, universal disaffection to his government is not one of them—that whatever else might embarrass his conduct of affairs an inappreciation of his statesmanship will not do it. Addresses have poured upon him from every side testifying to the readiness of every section of the community to support him in his endeavours to maintain the tranquility of the country. Many of those ebullitions of feeling may be characterised with the zeal that is untempered by discretion, may have transgressed over the bounds of becoming respect to his position and responsibilities, but all manifest an unmistakeable spirit of genuine patriotism and devotion.

The Calcutta Trades Association, the French and the Armenian inhabitants, the native community in Calcutta and in that suburbs, and the British Indian Association, have severally addressed the Governor-General on the present occasion. All except the latter body have tendered their personal services and a tolerable measure of advice. The Governor-General courteously acknowledges the offers, but in the absence of any necessity for accepting them declines them. But even Lord Canning's urbanity could not stand the trial to which it was put by the Trades Association which persisted in representing Calcutta as in danger, and the government on the brink of ruin. Calmly, they are told to bide the time and assured of the safety of Cossitollah and its streets. The Armenians, the French, and the Masonic body are told the same thing. To the British Indian Association which had refrained from offering its services, personal or otherwise, Governor-General had no need of demonstrating that the British government in India will survive the present danger. The Association, however, and through it the country, was assured of the perfect neutrality which government observed in matters in which the religion of its subjects was concerned.

On the whole, these demonstrations cannot fail to have an

effect upon the opinion of the entire country. That effect must be beneficial. We hope its full realization may be immediate.

28 May 1857

THE ZEMINDAR AND THE RYOT (Editorial)

One great grievance of the ryot is fairly in course of removal. The laws of summary arrest and distraint are under the revision of the Legislative Council. On the operation of these laws more than upon anything else depends the happiness or the misery of the ryot population. They are indispensable in the economy of our landed system ; but their liability to abuse is as great as their utility. That they have been, and are to this day, grossly abused is a notorious fact, and so gross has been the abuse that it has led many really intelligent persons to propose a total abolition of the laws. It is impossible, however, to leave the landlord no remedy for the punctual realization of his rents except a regular suit, without throwing the entire system into confusion. We believe the two laws under revision have had a fair trial. They have been found defective in some respects, and harsh in others. There is a general agreement in the minds of men at all conversant with the question as to the nature of the evils to be removed if not as to the nature of the amendments required. If the matter be but taken up in a fair, moderate and impartial spirit, there is every likelihood of the public coming to an opinion, even as regards the remedies, only not unanimous. The times are otherwise propitious to the contemplated change. Ryots have learnt the virtue of punctuality, and Zemindars find in bonafide litigation the best safeguard of their just claims. The rapid extension of foreign commerce has thrown into circulation among the agricultural classes a large amount of money, which makes payment of rent comparatively an easy affair. Lastly, it is necessary to defecate the Zemindary system of the accretions of evil which ignorant or prejudiced men point to as essential parts of that system, and thus bring it into discredit and, perhaps danger.

There will be found no great difficulty in dealing with the law of summary arrest. Regulation 7 of 1799 which introduced that process is thoroughly out of public favor. It is enough to say that it is that dreaded Huftum law which even children have learnt to condemn. That law was passed in a fright. We have the evidence of Mr. St. George Tucker, who then filled a position in the government which makes him a valuable witness on the matter, that the law was passed as a measure of coercion. It is a well-known fact that within the first decade of the permanent settlement a large amount of landed property changed hands solely because ryots had not learnt to adjust their modes of paying rent to the stricter demands of government upon the Zemindars. Violent opposition was also made by ryots to the enforcement of the new rights conferred on Zemindars by the settlement. The Huftum law was passed to coerce them. The necessity has since passed away, but the expedient has survived. It is now only necessary to place the law of arrest of recusant tenants upon the same footing with the general law of arrest on mesne process.

The law of distraint has been abused to even worse purposes than the law of summary arrest. It is in fact used as a cloak for indiscriminate plunder. Its chief evils arise from the character of the agency employed in working it. The commissioners of distraint are a thoroughly corrupt set of officials. The police who as regularly attend on a distraint in Bengal as they formerly used to do on Irish distraints are still worse. The judges in the cases are the collectors of revenue, officers who look upon the infringement of rights in the course of realizing rents or revenue a venial offence. The reform needed in this branch is also obvious. Distraints should be confined only to crops on the grounds. The tenant's home will thus be placed in comparative safety. They should be conducted by officers having some interest in an honest discharge of their duties. The police should be allowed to interfere as sparingly as possible. Lastly, the judicial cognizance of cases arising out of distraints should be re-transferred to the civil courts.

We await the publication of the promised Bill with consider-

able impatience. Meanwhile above observations are offered to enable the public to form an opinion on the subject so as to make it bear effectually upon the progress of the measure,

28 May 1857

THE MUTINIES

The week has not been barren of incidents. The explosion of mutinous feeling so long expected at Lucknow has taken place. Full particulars have not yet been received, but the harm done appears to be considerably less than was apprehended. Portions of the 13th, 48th and 71st, N. I. and two troops of the 7th L. C. commenced the mutiny by setting fire to some bungalows. They appear to have been promptly met. The preparations made by Sir Henry Lawrence against an outbreak were of a character which justifies us in hoping that the rebels were severely chastised. The main body of them is however stated to have made good their retreat—of course towards Delhi. Three or four officers have been killed, among whom was Brigadier Handscombe. Lucknow was in many respects entitled to be considered the central seat of Sepoy disaffection. It is the capital of a province from which the native army is principally recruited, and where therefore the Sepoy feeling of the day must prevail with the greatest force. It is the capital of a newly-taken kingdom, and teems with political intriguers of the most dangerous sort. It shelters for its size the largest amount of reckless vagabondage to be found in any Indian town. The crisis impending over the province has, however, passed. Stragglers might find their way into the interior and incite the untamed feudatories of the dynasty to local commotions ;—combinations more extensive and attempts better directed need not be apprehended. But a general rise throughout the province—which was the great danger to be kept in view—is now no longer possible. The retreat of the insurgent troops must operate to the discouragement of the ill-affected throughout the province, and derange all their plans, if they had any. A few

severe examples, and the filling up with troops of approved loyalty the vacant lines of the mutineers will succeed in maintaining order until a few more weeks and the suppression of the insurrection at Delhi restore peace to the country.

The mutineers are still in force at Delhi, and their influence appears to extend over a large circle around it. With a power of organization for which an unofficered soldiery could hardly have got credit, they yet maintain the substance of military discipline if not its very form. Without arms and with but the accumulations of plunder they are holding a town with mediæval defences in a manner to keep at bay a complete British corps de armee. The bond, however, which holds them together is one of sand. It is the bond of common criminality, the bond of those doomed to a common doom : Each would betray his neighbour if treachery could secure respite. But each knows that circumstances deny him even the resource of flight and concealment. Despair may have strung their nerves, and they may yet fight a fight justifying the prudence and deliberation which mark the movements of the military authorities. But their end is fixed. Surrounded by adverse armies put forward by the allies and dependents of the British Government escape is to them impossible. The main pressure may yet be distant, but its approach is certain, and its effect inevitable. The rebels must feel the desperateness of their situation, and they need all the excitement of active rebellion to sustain them. Their leaders seem to be aware of this, and one endeavouring to keep up their spirit by sending them out constantly on plundering excursions. They have even gone the length of sending a large body towards Meerut—a movement which might have proved serious had it not been arrested in time. The rebels were met by the Meerut force on the Hindun bridge, a distance of 15 miles from Delhi, and routed on the 30th ultimo. It is said the rebels on this occasion had artillery with them, which, however, they left back in their retreat. General Anson is dead. The loss though great is not irreparable. His Excellency was accompanied by a force whose action would be irresistible upon far better defences than those which interpose between the

rebels and destruction. A regular apparatus for the siege of the town is said to be wanting to the completeness of the force, but it must be by this time ready for its work. Surmises made evidently under the influence of disappointment assign the 9th of this month as the date on which the besieging force is to be expected to open fire on Delhi. The siege, of course, is not likely to be of long continuance. The public, already impatient at the delay, will hardly brook at the hands of the avenging army a strict adherence to Vauban.

Meanwhile European troops are pouring in from the other points of the country, and one being moved up to the stations in the upper provinces with the greatest energy and expedition. The 1st Madras Fusiliers and H. M.'s 35 Foot have arrived, and other regiments of H. M.'s Foot are every moment expected. Two Bombay regiments released from the Persian expedition are on their way to Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad and Cawnpore have, we believe, already had bodies of European troops to strengthen their garrisons, and the state of feeling which was manifested among and native soldiery at some of these places has considerably improved. The stations higher up are described as quiet, with the exception of Muttrah where, on the occasion of a relief both the relieving and relieved companies deserted for Delhi, Allygurh, Mynpoore and Etawah, deserted by the mutinied regiment which held them will probably be occupied by the troops of Scindiah. Beyond Delhi, the auxiliaries of Puttialah and Jheend may likewise be employed in holding the minor towns. The adoption of adequate measures for the security of these places is now specially necessary, as, after Delhi is taken, the remnant of the rebels may resort to them and wreak upon unprotected populations the vengeance they owe to rural loyalty.

4 June 1857

THE POLICY OF THE DAY

The measures which the Government of India has adopted to reassure the public mind in the present agitated state of the country have all been marked by wisdom, firmness and moderation. The treason law lately passed, the proclamations issued to the nation and the army, the replies to public bodies which have addressed the Government on the existing state of affairs, the liberal treatment of the faithful, the promptitude and fullness with which information from the disturbed districts of the country is communicated to the newspapers, have severally contributed to allay fears, fix the wavering, restore confidence where it had been shaken, and strike with despair those who hoped to gain by fomenting insurrection. The subordinate governments in the provinces have also acquitted themselves with commendable prudence and vigour. Perhaps, it were to be wished that Mr. Colvin's acts manifested a more decided feeling of security ; but the proximity of the seat of his government to the foci of rebellion and the character of the local population would account for even a greater degree of anxiety. In promising, however, amnesty to repentent rebels, he has not only compromised the government of the country, but exceeded his own large powers. In the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence is understood to feel his position perfectly secure ; and the rather improbable story of his having disarmed the native soldiery of the line within his sphere of government shows at least the sweeping and decided character of the measures which may be expected at his hands. His brother, the Chief Commissioner of Oude, is in a position of greater difficulty. Ruling over a newly annexed province, and one ever remarkable for the amount of violence which marks its social history ; teeming with disaffected residents and turbulent faction, he is beset by dangers against which an overwhelming force—one to be thoroughly depended upon—and consummate tact in management, can alone avail. Sir Henry Lawrence had succeeded to a great extent in conciliating the better orders of the Lucknow population. The military commission of a Brigadier General with

which he has been invested, and in pursuance of which he has assumed the command of the troops in Oude has been used to no small purpose. But his labours have been almost lost, for the temporary success of the rebels has revived the nearly extinct hopes of the followers of the late court. His endeavours to strengthen the fidelity of the local troops by the distribution of magnificent rewards to those who may have exemplified marked loyalty in their conduct were most 'praiseworthy'; but after all they have turned but partially successful. The mutiny at Lucknow, however, has been less disastrous in its results than those at Meerut and Delhi, and then from its local position it might have been expected to be.

One of Sir Henry Lawrence's acts is likely to be judged of with some degree of severity in more settled times. We refer to his act of placing the local newspaper, the *Central Star*, under a censorship. For the present, our provincial government may indulge in the arbitrary use of their authority to the utmost extent without incurring public odium. Sir Henry Lawrence's peculiar situation strengthens his claims to this exemption from public criticism. That the Oude people are disaffected, that there are mischievous spirits at work, and among other means used to excite disaffection is the dissemination of exaggerated accounts of the rebels' successes, are facts notorious. The ill-concealed terrors of the European population give birth to huge accounts of danger and disloyalty, which accounts find their way into the newspapers, of course losing neither in body nor in strength during their progress. Through these newspapers they are received by a public divided between the frightened and the disaffected, and they produce in society the most disorganizing effects. Under these circumstances it is clearly the duty of the local administration to place the organs of public information under surveillance. The letter of the Agra correspondent of the *Central Star* has been tabooed. The writer could scarcely have written treason, but he very probably did worse,—give a description of the imminent peril in which Agra and its Christian population lay, and called the authorities weak for not blowing up all the native infantry in India. Now

a communication of this kind falling upon such inflammable materials as now constitute a large portion of society in the towns of upper India, is calculated to lead to the most dangerous results. It would alarm the peaceful and inspire with unfounded hopes those who wishing well to the rebel cause might otherwise despair of its success.

The policy adopted by the several governments towards the country has been, on the whole, sound and judicious. If the needless alarms of a part of the population have marred its utility in any measure, the evil is unavoidable in a community composed of so many nationalities and castes. It remains to be seen what effect this policy has upon the native army. They have, in common with the rest of their fellow-countrymen been assured upon the highest authority that the government has no designs upon their religion or their caste privileges. They have been warned against the artifices of those who have endeavoured to impress the contrary upon their minds. They have the assertion of an English nobleman that cartridges greased with objectionable matter were never issued to a single sepoy. They have as in the case of the 70th N. I. seen the government does not withhold its confidence from those who at all deserve it. Above all, they cannot help feeling the military degradation implied in the rapid importation of European troops into the country. If, after all this, their eyes are not opened, they do not perceive the nature of the delusion has led so many of their comrades to disgraceful crimes,—all that can be said is that a fatality not less strange than cruel drives them to inevitable destruction.

4 June 1857

THE SEPOY MUTINY AND ITS ACTION UPON THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL

Government has already had unmistakeable demonstration of the loyalty of the people of Bengal. The heads of the community as well as its less distinguished members have held serious

and earnest consultations as to how best they might assist the state in dealing signal chastisement to as brutal and unprincipled a body of ruffians as ever disgraced a uniform or stained the bright polish of a soldier's sword with the blood of murder. The people of these provinces both by habit and education are the least likely to swell the ranks of a rebellious soldiery or afford the least countenance or protection to the disturbers of national tranquillity. The Bengallees never aspired to the glory of leading armies to battle or the martyrdom of the forlorn hope. Their pursuits and their triumphs are entirely civil. A strong and versatile intellect enables them to think deeply and to think foresightedly. They are aware that the British rule is the best suited to their quiet and intellectual tastes; that under it they might achieve the greatest amount of prosperity compatible with their position as a conquered race. They are in hopes that by lawful and constitutional appeals to the good sense and justice of the English people sitting by representatives in a sovereign council or Parliament, they, when the fitting moment arrives, will rise yet further in the scale of equality with their foreign rulers and divide with them the honour and the responsibility of administering the affairs of the largest and the most well-established empire in Asia. They feel, above all other portions of the Indian community, how far the country is thrown backward by the present disturbances. It is to be regretted however that bad principled and designing men should in the face of these strong and infallible evidences of the staunch and secure loyalty of the people of Bengal go about poisoning the ears of Government with tales calculated to invest them with identity with the ruthless demons that lately held their carnival at Meerut and Delhi. It has been insinuated that the Bengallees sympathise with the mutineers. That they are disaffected towards the Government. That they ought not to be trusted. And all manner of similar idle and malicious stories have been sent forth against men whose whole lives have been patterns of loyalty,—zealous and devoted loyalty. We can well understand the source from which the venom is discharged and the animus that dictates its circulation. The “birth-

right" men who so vehemently inveighed in the Town Hall against the legislative enactment which threatens to demolish their license to burn and pillage in a mofussil station with impunity, have taken advantage of the present state of affairs to inveigh loudly against all that is native, and this endeavour to avert the legislation which is to restrain their excesses. The bureaucracy who find in the growth of intelligence and property among the natives of the country the greatest danger to their absurd claims to social preeminence are not unwilling to bring them into discredit. To attain this end means are selected with no other scruple than as to efficacy. In the times, when George the Third was King, Pitt Prime Minister, Scott Attorney General, and Bonaparte enemy of England, the agents of government sought out the choicest scoundrelism of the day to employ it in a service never held very popular with Englishmen. It was to make traitors of honest subjects—traitors according to the law of the Attorney General,—and then to denounce the treason thus created by treacherous companionship to the terrified ministry. Thus was brought scoundrelism that did this. Here, at the present time, cowardly fears for personal safety afford that incitement to the practice of espionage which Pitt's secret service fund did to the English denouncers of imaginary treason. A Bengallee gentleman, a most estimable member of the public service, is met by some alarmists in a railway carriage. The alarmists talked their nonsense, and submitted it for the opinion of the baboo. An opinion was passed more discriminating than pleasing. Conversation was pressed with the purpose on one side of drawing from the other language that at the present time might be construed into treasonable language. The alarmists thought they had their game, informed the authorities, swore hard—and in the end found themselves in a position not to be ridiculed only because it is to be intensely despised. Such are some of the shifts to which the alarmists are driven by their fears. The security of honest men lies in the fact that Government has proved unimpressionable alike by the terrors they raise and the means they use.

4 June 1857

THE SILK MANUFACTURE

The great difficulty of Government in India, it has been remarked, is the strength which social evils acquire by silent progress for a length of time. You attack an abuse, and when it fails to hide its character, it pleads prescription, consuetude, whatever makes reformers turn thoroughly conservative or utterly radical. Indigo, it is now generally understood, is in Lower Bengal, the produce of a system of compulsory labour. This system would be abolished tomorrow if it had not existed long and bound itself up with the general interests of British enterprise in Bengal. There are other industrial pursuits in Bengal which in like manner depend for their success upon forced labour and extortion. The silk manufacture, for instance, is one Silk, like Indigo, is produced under a system of contract and anticipated payment of prices. The ryot takes advances from the factory, cultivates his land for the mulberry or other plant on which the insect is bred, and when the insect grows to size brings it to the factory. Like the ryot who contracts for the growth of the indigo plant, the ryot who rears the silk-worm has the price of his article dictated from the factory. Lastly, to complete the parallel, each factory, whether indigo or silk, is accustomed to consider certain tract of the country round it as its peculiar domain, and resents intrusion into it in the same manner.

In one respect the ryot who rears silk-worms is better off than his brother who grows the indigo plant. The physical circumstances under which the former rears his produce renders him somewhatless subject to coercion than the latter. The factory men might in one morning cut up the matured produce of a whole season's labour in indigo-field. They cannot do the like with the insects in a mulberry plantation. The insect requires care and rearing and looking after, and all those in one field do not become fit for the boiler at the same time. The factor might gratify his revenge by destroying the produce, but he cannot appropriate it to himself in a lump.

The system of silk-growing is productive of breaches of the

peace, though not to the same extent that indigo-planting does. A contemporary recently published the proceedings of a Fouzdaree court in which a silk-factor was found guilty of having violently dispossessed a ryot of his basket of worms while proceeding to deliver it to another person and then paid him a much smaller price than the article was worth. We have already said that each silk-factory considers a certain extent of land around it its peculiar domain and resents intrusion into it. Mr. Inglis himself does not more conscientiously believe the districts of Cachar and Sylhet to be his hereditary close than does each silk-factor the mulberry plantations around him. Collisions therefore are not infrequent between rival factories; trespassing agents are maltreated; and ryots are forced away with their province.

We have no specific remedies to propose for these evils. They like many others will yield only to a marked improvement in the administration of justice in this country.

4 June 1857

THE MUTINIES

The intelligence of the week may be comprised in one single sentence. Almost all the remaining army stations in upper India have felt the shock of the mutinies. In some, the regiments have risen against their officers; in others, their arms have been taken from them in order to diminish their powers of mischief. The Goorkhas and the Seikhs, who were hitherto supposed in capable of joining the Hindoostanees in a conspiracy against the state, have proved equally faithless to their salt. The recent risings have, however, been unaccompanied by some of the deeper atrocities which added such horror to the proceedings of the mutiniers at Meerut and Delhi.

We will commence the narrative from Benares. The 37th N. I. at that station gave cause for distrust, and it was resolved to disarm them. At a parade ordered for that purpose, the men refused to yield up their arms. The Sikh regiments, so far from

supporting the authority of the commanders, joined the 37th in open mutiny. The 13th Irregular Cavalry were ordered to act in this emergency, and the greater portion of them went over to the mutiniers. Captain Guise of the last mentioned corps was killed. Some other officers, whose names have not been given, were also killed or wounded. The mutineers were dispersed by the artillery, and they are understood to have marched towards Delhi. At Allahabad, the 6th N. I. which were so loud in their protestations of loyalty, and which had gone the length of asking to be led against the mutineers at Dehli, and had been thanked for the offer of their services, have mutinied. No mention has been made of any officers having been killed, except Captain Birch, the Fort Adjutant. The mutiniers of the 6th have taken the road to Dehli. Unfavorable accounts are heard of the 2nd Light Cavalry at Cawnpore. At Azimghur, the 17th N. I. rose upon their officers and murdered some of them. The names of Lieutenant Hutchinson, quartermaster of the regiment, and his wife are mentioned as among those killed. At Seetapore in Oude, the 41st N. I. which had previously given a proof of their fidelity by opposing the entrance into the town held by them of the mutineers from Lucknow, have risen, and proceeded to join the rebels at Dehli. The 2nd regiment of Oude Irregular Cavalry, which had been detached against the 9th N. I., mutinied on the way, and killed the officers present with them. Lieutenants Bardor and Fayrer and Captain Flecher Hayes are the names mentioned. They have since gone towards Futtighur where they will probably be joined by the 10th N. I. Higher up, the 5th and 60th N. I. which formed a part of the field force proceeding from Umballa towards Dehli, mutinied in the very presence of the European regiments brigaded with them, but they are reported to have been cut up to a man. The Nusseeree Battalion of Goorkhas, dispersed in the Hill stations, have plundered the public treasuries—it is added, just to the extent of the arrears of their pay; but they have been allowed to return to duty, probably because there were no European troops to enable the authorities to punish them. Far to the south, at Nusseerabad, the 15th and

30th N. I. rose and killed some of their officers. Their movements since have not been reported. To this long list of mutinies is to be added the number of regiments which have by way of precaution been deprived of their arms. The 44th and 67th N. I. have been disarmed at Agra. This operation was performed before an imposing force of Europeans and artillery, and no disorder ensued. The 8th L. C. and the 16th, 26th and 49th N. I. at Lahore have been similarly disarmed. We suppose the statements previously put forth respecting the whole of the regular native troops in the Punjab having been disarmed were totally groundless.

We thus see that full a third of the regular army in Northern India is in open revolt against the government, and the remainder is unfit to be trusted with the execution of their duties. A hope had all along been entertained that the troops drawn from the Seikh and Goorkhah races, and which have but few feelings in common with the sepoys of Hindoostan proper, could at all events be relieved upon. Even that hope has disappeared. We do not deny that there may yet be regiments in the service, true to their colors and steadfastly so. But after what has occurred, their services are for the time utterly useless. Where the spirit of disaffection will stop it is impossible to say until Dehli, falls in the hands of the force not inaptly named "the Army of Retribution." We have still our doubts as to the correctness of the theory by which it has been endeavoured to account for this rapid succession of mutinies in an army scattered over half a million of square miles, namely, that a conspiracy extending over the whole native army had been formed to overturn by one grand effort of the government of British India, but that want of organization and unity in counsel has deranged the plan. However it be, the evil has dissipated its force, and the government is enabled to overcome the insurgent force in detail, and therefore without much greater commotion in the state than has yet been left.

All anxiety has been set at rest about a point on which it was felt the deepest. The province of Oude, we might say, is safe. Particulars of the outbreak have been received during the

week which prove that the rebels have nothing further to hope from their sympathisers in that part of the country. The Chief merit of Sir Henry Lawrence's tactics, however, lay in the barrier he interposed between the mutineers in cantonment and the turbulent portion of the population in the town of Lucknow. Had the latter been certain of cooperation and assistance from the unfaithful regiments without the city, or the former had access to it, scenes might have been enacted similar to those which occurred at Meerut and Dehli. As it is, the mutinous regiments have found no aid where they expected it, and have sought for it in vain in the interior districts of the province. The population generally have markedly shown their determination not to fraternise with the rebels. Here and there, a Pathan village might exhibit signs of disaffection, but the province presents after the outbreak a more settled appearance than it did before that event.

11 June 1857

CALCUTTA AND ITS SAFETY

Something must be done for the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta. They can not rid themselves of the idea that one of these mornings they will find themselves dead men and dead women and dead children. They are in awful dread of their domestic servants and of the sepoys banded and disbanded. A few crackers fired in a wedding in one of the suburbs kept them awake one whole night. The mooring of the *Zenobia* a little high up the river destroyed their rest for a couple of days and nights. But the placing of European sentries over the Mint and the Treasury has quite convinced them that Calcutta is destined to be the victim of mutiny.

The inhabitants themselves have wanted a Militia. Well, if that will give them sleep and appetite, we are clearly of opinion that Government should yield to their request—only stipulating that they should subscribe to defray the expenses. But there is another plan which is less openly talking of, and which may

better deserve consideration. If the Governor General but gives a hint, five thousand men, armed in the fashion of the mofussil, would be placed at his disposal in a week by the landholders in and about Calcutta. These men are all trained to street fighting, and defending houses is their vocation. A Bengallee paik, it is well-known never sleeps. They are superior, man for man, to the Calcutta police, and would be equal to an equal number of sepoy's armed with anything less than muskets. They are no more likely to fraternise with mutinous sepoy's or a rebellious Khansamry than the judges of the Supreme Court. If these men were distributed among the houses in Calcutta in batches of five to ten, they would undoubtedly succeed in abating the fears of the inhabitants. The Zeminders who furnish them will to course have the honor of maintaining them at their own expense. We really think the experiment ought to be tried.

11 June 1857

THE ARMY COMMANDS

The death of General Anson at this time of trouble and anxiety is an event extremely to be lamented : Succeeding a commander who, between old age, loss of the habit of command and the aggressive interference of an ambitious civil authority, had well nigh turned his office into a sinecure, his appointment, though owed entirely to interest, was received by the public with considerable satisfaction. His conduct since was marked by equal energy and judgment. But new to the task, and with a staff deficient in many of the qualities required in the official advisers of the military chief of India, he did not perceive, or perceiving did not attach any importance to the signs of disaffection in the sepoy army which made themselves but too manifest almost immediately after his accession to office. Unfortunately, again, when that disaffection was ripening into mutiny, the General left the seat of Government for the milder climate of the hills : He thus sacrificed those opportunities and means of learning the state of the army which have been at his disposal

in the metropolis. The mutinies occurred. The Chief was far away. The public grumbled and then raised their complaints to the height of persecuting violence. The intelligence of actual, and for the time successful, rebellion at last drew the General to the plains where a fatal disease overtook him while he was hastening to collect and lead the forces against the rebels.

The General Anson was an officer of far more than average merit, and that if he had continued at the head of the Indian armies, he would have effected many reforms in their system and organization, hardly admits of a denial. Organic changes were alike beyond the scope of his capacity and his powers. Those must be left to be effected by the head of the Government; but to suggest, to urge, to forward, to carry them out, are the proper duties of the military chief General Anson, if spared, might have gained the experience necessary to enable him to comprehend the nature of the changes required. His familiarity with the duties of civil office and his parliamentary training gave him a wider view of questions than a mere military man usually possesses, and his administrative capacity was really of a superior order. His loss at this moment will be felt, and more specially that a natural superstition will construe the event into an *omen*?

The succession to the vacant command has been promptly arranged, subject of course to the ulterior interference of the authorities in England. Lieutenant General Sir Henry Somerset, as the senior officer in command in India, falls into the chief command of the armies of the three presidencies. Sir Patrick Grant, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras army, has been nominated to assume the Commander in Chief of the Bengal army. Major General Reed, commanding the Peshawar Division, is appointed by virtue of his seniority to act as provincial Commander-in-Chief in Bengal until the arrival of General Grant; and Major General Sir Henry Bernard is charged with the command of the field force proceeding against the rebels.

In yielding to the advice of those who have suggested to the Governor General the appointment of Sir Patrick Grant to the Command of the Bengal army, we hope his lordship has assured himself of the soundness of the proceeding. We can scar-

cely forbear noticing that a class feeling has considerably exaggerated the estimate of an officer who has yet to prove his merits in a position of command. Now that the worst has happened it is not necessary to have a genius at the head of the army. No great strategical skill will be called for in the coercion of the rebels : So far as the present disturbances are concerned, their suppression will not even await General Grant's arrival. He will indeed have the good fortune to come in at the moment when those in conspicuous position will be left only the easy task of reaping the credit of success. His large Indian experience which forms his chief recommendation may be useful in the re-organization of the Bengal army which will be the great object of government after these disturbances subside, but we doubt whether the authorities in England will retain him in the position whence alone his aid can be available to that purpose.

11 June 1857

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE EDUCATED NATIVES

Apropos to the affair of Baboo Sibchunder Deb with the alarmists is a cleverly-written letter published in the last number of the *Friend of India*, signed "A loyal Bengallee". The writer gives an exposition of what he conceives to be the sentiments of the class called by Europeans the "educated natives". He premises that "Young Bengal is not hostile to the British Government". But, he proceeds to say, Young Bengal looks upon the mutinies as "tokens for good," as they may induce Government to adopt a policy of greater conciliation towards our countrymen, and regards them as a retribution of providence for the many evil deeds committed by the British Government in India. He points out that Young Bengal has too large a stake involved in the continued existence of the British Government to wish its downfall, and prays for its "stability up to the time when we are able to govern ourselves without any fear of foreign invasion."

There is a little exaggeration in the tone and style of the writer : Substantially his account of the feelings of the "edu-

cated natives" agrees with the one we have given. The class whose opinions he expresses have a splendid future before them, but which can be realized only by the existence of the British rule. They are already the only class of the fixed population of the country which possesses any active political influence. They are in point of intelligence the foremost among their countrymen. In three more generations they will have the best part of the property in the country in their hands. For all political purposes they will be the people. It is possible to conceive what will be Young Bengal's position at the end of the present century. Even if not admitted to a direct and preponderant share in the Government of his country, his influence and his opinion will be effectual for much more than the influence and opinion of any other portion of the local community. Reasonable ambition cannot aspire to higher political success. The realization of these prospects, however, it is needless to repeat, entirely depends upon the continued existence of the British rule. The most enlightened self-interest, accordingly, prompts the "educated natives" to be loyal. This loyalty, it may be true, springs nearer from the head than from the heart. There may be more of reason and calculation than feeling and sentiment in it. This perhaps, at least for the present, is a necessity of the case: So long as we are treated by Englishmen as an inferior race, and feel that in some respects we deserve to be so treated, much of warmth and ardour cannot be expected to enter into the composition of our loyalty. In one respect, however, we believe the writer of the letter to be decidedly wrong. He seems to think that no "educated" or other native can feel that particular sentiment of affection towards his rules which would perhaps be best indicated by a dynastic attachment to the defects sovereign of the country. We dissent. We would not be Hindoos—there would not be an Asian mystery for Europeans to solve—if the object of our loyalty were an impersonal sovereignty. The strength of the legitimist feeling in India during the last hundred years presents to the Europeans a historical phenomenon for which he is utterly unable to

account. Among none has that feeling been more cherished than among Hindoos, and never was that feeling stronger than when the fortunes of the Great Mogul were at their lowest ebb. Who can say that freer intercourse between natives and Europeans, the more frequent resort of educated natives to England—until the tour becomes fashion, and the grant of titles and other honorary rewards by the sovereign direct, may not engender a feeling as deep as pure, and as warm as was ever borne to Akber or any of his successors?

The other point on which the loyalty of the "educated natives" is impeached is their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things. Young Bengal is dissatisfied, but where is the politician in the world that is not dissatisfied? English toryism, the most loyal of all political isms is the very opposite of optimism. Circumstances have made Young Bengal a confirmed grumbler, in fact, an actual grievancemonger. His language, accordingly is marked by a show of chronic discontent. It would be the height of error, however, to confound this habit of grumbling with disloyalty. Young Bengal grumbles, because what he has is less than he wants, though much more than he would willingly abandon. He is from his position the interpreter between his rulers and his countrymen. He therefore holds one language to the former and another to the latter. We shall illustrate our meaning by a reference to an incident connected with this press. There was issued for some months under the same editorial management with this journal a Bengallee newspaper. While the articles in the English weekly breathed hot opposition to the measures of Government, those in the vernacular journal were framed with the chief object of convincing our countrymen, how infinitely superior to any thing known in our past history were the acts and principles of the British Government in India. This dualism in the political language and conduct of Young Bengal exposes him to considerable misrepresentation. His countrymen deny his patriotism; his rulers' countrymen deny his loyalty.

The duty of the "educated natives" is clear under any circumstances. They have a noble destiny, and let them make

themselves worthy of it. Remembering that "their grandfathers were born British subjects," they can afford to treat with contempt the jealousy and meanness of those Europeans whose business and enjoyment, it is to misrepresent them in all the relation of life. Remembering that they are the chosen instruments of European Civilization in Asia, they must encounter all the prejudices of their own countrymen. To Government it is their duty to accord in the main, and on all occasions when the interests of peace and order are in peril, a hearty and unreserved support. Nevertheless, they are bound to watch the political interests of their countrymen against official power and to compromise for no consideration the national rights of which they are the fittest guardians.

11 June 1857

PREDIAL BONDAGE OF THE BENGAL RYOT

A recent decision of the Sudder Court confirms the doctrine established some years ago that no ryot can get quit of his engagements to his Zemindar by merely selling off his interest in the land held by him. All the dread machinery of the Huptum and Punjum may be put in motion against him after he has dissolved his connection with the soil. Not until the Zemindar chooses to register the sale in his books and to recognize the newcomer as a tenant is the outgoing ryot absolved to the obligations previously contracted by him. "The Zemindar", say the judges in the decision adverted to, "is not bound to trouble himself about these arrangements or to take notice of any parties who have not been formally recognized by himself, either by the exchange of Pattahs and Kubooleuts or entry in the zemindaree books."

To Englishmen, the hardship of this state of the law is not apparent. The idea which first strikes them is that there is nothing unreasonable in the lessee continuing to be held responsible for his part of the mutual stipulation between him and the landlord for the term of the lease. This reasoning,

however, can apply only to lessees for years. Now, throughout India, except at the chief cities and the suburbs, we have no leases for years. Land is held either in perpetuity or at will. Perpetual holdings are the rule. Of these holdings, the greater portion are transferrable by sale, gift and other modes of assignment. They are then, saving the rent, just as good property as an allodium or a share in the public stock. Accordingly, when parted with, the liabilities attached to the property should pass with it too. But the Sudder declares they shall not, unless the Zemindar wills it. The effect of this declaration is that the ryot is all his lifetime haunted by the ghost of his departed jote.

From time immemorial, it has been customary, when a ryot sells his interest, for the Zemindar to take a share of the sale-price as a premium for registering the sale in his books. This share goes by the name of chout or a fourth, but is generally compounded for a smaller proportion of the value of the property sold. It is the interest of both the seller and the buyer to have this registration, for the former is thereby absolved from the obligations of a Bengal ryot, and the latter obtains a recognized title. The law as declared by the Sudder Court, therefore, imposes a predial bondage upon the ryot with the alternative of paying a heavy tax for its redemption.

11 June 1857

THE MUTINIES

The precis of news daily supplied by government to the newspapers afford the most authentic, if not the fullest and latest accounts of the progress of events in the disturbed provinces of Upper India. The recapture of Delhi has not been officially notified; but little doubt can be entertained that the rebels have been dislodged and the city has been retaken. The report is current in the Bazar, always the earliest recipient of such intelligence at such times. The moments of the siege train from Phillour, upon which the

chief operation against the insurgents was dependant, have been little known on this side of the country ; but the most moderate calculation would not date its arrival at Umballa later than the end of last month. There is no reason to invalidate the surmise that the field force was in Delhi on the 9th. instant ; and after arrival the attack could not have been postponed many hours. The result has appeared in the shape of rumours uncontradicted by the slightest appearances of an adverse nature. That no authentic intelligence has yet been received affords no ground for scepticism on this point. The sally of the 31st May was not known in Calcutta till last Sunday—full fourteen days after the occurrence. Probably, the Assaye which will bring Sir Patrick Grant from Madras today or tomorrow is also the bearer of his good fortune in the form of authentic intelligence of the fall of Delhi.

No fresh mutinies have been reported during the week except that of the 12th. N. I. at Jhansie and Nowgong. It is stated that the officers (except those killed) and the ladies at the former station have found refuge in the fort. Nothing certain is known of the state of affairs at the latter place, ... it has been explained that the disturbance which occurred there was caused only by a religious quarrel between the Hindoo and Mahomedan sepoys at the station—an incident hardly to be regretted in these days. It is also stated that the regiments at Sultanpore in Oude have marched off to Dehli. Particulars have arrived during the week of the mutinies at Benares, Allahabad, Jaunpore and Azimgurh, and they are shown to have equalled in atrocity those at Meerut and Dehli. The double treachery of the 6th N. I. at Allahabad has been attended with the perpetration of the same crimes that added such horror to the tales of the former tragedies. The extreme ferocity of the revoltors is to be accounted for, perhaps, solely by the fact that they are waging a religious war. We must pass over the annals of American border ruffianism and French revolutionary ruffianism to the histories of medieval Europe to look for the counterpart of Hindoo and Mahomedan ruffianism in the nineteenth century. The number of officers murdered in the 6th is larger than in any of the revolted regiments. They must have been lulled into a said feeling of

security, or the insurgents of the 6th N. I. must have fought with uncommon determination to have inflicted such loss on the town as they have succeeded in causing. It is known that they had attempted to take the fort ; and but for the exertions of one of the steamers which was fortunately on the river at the time, and which conveyed ready aid to the besieged garrison, they might have succeeded. They seem to have found considerable assistance from the vagabondage of the city, who were unusually active in the plunder of the banking houses and the boats on the river. The mutineers of Benares seem to have suffered severe loss. About three hundred of them were killed ; and the loss on the side of the Europeans was only eight or nine. They have dispersed themselves, and joined by all the worst characters of a bad locality have taken to plundering the district all through. A similar state of things prevails in and around Jaunpore. The whole of that part of the country is in a state of disorganization owing to the combined proceedings of mutineers and mobs. Civil authority is hardly maintained beyond the immediate vicinity of the towns held by Europeans ; safety is unattainable except where proprietors of extensive estates can raise large populations at their bid. The mail communication has been stopped. The utmost exertions are however being made to restore order and tranquility. Martial law has been proclaimed and marauders are being caught and hanged. European troops in large numbers are being pushed up, and there is a prospect of things settling down ere many days shall have passed. The greater part of the population is sound, and affords assistance to the authorities in every possible way. Patna, Dinapore, Ghazeepore and Mirzapore are stated to be quiet. The sepoys at Ghazeepore are reported to have been disarmed.

The arrival of a company of royal artillery and H. M.'s 37th Foot from Ceylon and of the 78th Highlanders from Bombay has placed at the disposal of Government sufficient means to punish the rebels and other enemies to order in the districts about Benares ; and so soon as the fall of Dehli is authentically announced, the effect will be felt in the rapid subsidence of every disturbing element.

18 June 1857

THE METROPOLIS AND ITS SAFETY

Yielding to a necessity more imperious than that of rescuing Dehli, or tranquilizing Upper India, the Governor General has allowed Clive Street, Cossitolah and Colingah to protect themselves. The martial ardour of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta which was nigh bursting—the columns of our daily contemporaries—has been given a vent by the order for forming the CALCUTTA VOLUNTEER GUARDS. The act has given Lord Canning, if not the town or the country peace. And if his Lordship does not carry out his threat of giving that gallant corps a very “plain uniform”, he may yet have time allowed him to look to the government of the country.

Badinage aside, we believe the Governor General has done not the least politic of his acts in sanctioning the formation of the corps of Calcutta volunteers. No argument that he could have used would have convinced, of their perfect safety, men who, in their turn, were convinced that they would infallibly be shot “clean through the head,” by the Khanshamahs and Khidmutgars of Calcutta. But the intentions of the supreme government are likely to be nullified by the Town Major, who has allowed the crisis to pass without putting the fort in the hands of the gallant volunteers, and has, after the danger has passed, only promised to “Parade” the guards—before the eyes of Dr. Cantor and the curious. But the culpable negligence of an incompetent official was not to compromise the safety of Cassitolah, Clive Street and Colingah. Mr. Kilburn and the merchants of Calcutta are “practical men”. They wait not for Town Majors or the like of them. They have improvised Cavalry and Infantry, and they scour Calcutta under the sanction of its great Deputy Commissioner. Fortunately there are no mills in their way, and their limbs are safe,—unless colonels of volunteer cavalry ride down colonels of volunteer infantry as has unfortunately been done in one case.

Let's try again to be serious. We wish Colonel Cavenagh will see the young people who manage to get clear of their governors after 10 in the evening under color of the G. O. do not decisively discard beer for brandy—don't get sick—and do

travellers less harm. We wish gentlemen of Mr. Kilburn's education and position will think twice before they give vent to such language as he has thought proper to utter in conspicuous italics in the daily newspapers, language which can do no good, which adds nothing to the strength of the cause of order, but which percolating through many channels may do an immense deal of harm.

Let us not be misunderstood, as a contemporary used to say. We have some personal friends among the volunteer defenders of Calcutta whom—however, we may differ from them in opinion—we could see without the slightest anxiety invested with any amount of irresponsible power. But what is there to assure us that in times when the “antagonism of races” has produced a heartful of woes, the wildness of excited folly will not more than neutralize the efforts of thoughtful vigilance?

Calcutta may be in danger, as we don't believe it was or is. But will Mr. Kilburn say that he is better informed than the government or the town authorities? If he be so, we surrender, as the government has done, our judgment to his hands, but we have a right to ask in return that the town be not overrun with drunken European anarchy. Is he prepared to give us the guarantee?

The conduct of the 6th N. I. justifies every measure of distrust that can be manifested towards the sepoy army. The native troops in and about Calcutta have accordingly been disarmed—to the heartfelt grief, as all must allow, of many a loyal soldier. With that act the last vestige of serious danger has passed. As far as the metropolis is concerned. As for revenge, we proclaim the call to be just. But where is the equity of avenging the murdered and outraged of Meerut, Dehli and Allahabad in Calcutta?

We hope our remarks will be taken in good part as they are offered with the best of intentions.

The suburbs have been entrusted to the Howrah Vigilance Committee, Mr. Galliffe, and 250 Police Burkundauzes. We cannot have a better proof of the insignificance of the danger threatening us.

18 June 1857

THE MUTINIES

The progress of the mutinies is uninterrupted either by the efforts of our statesmen or by a spreading sense of the hopelessness of the rebel cause. Regiments of native soldiers continue to throw off their allegiance in obedience, as it were, to the call of destiny. They now scarcely wait for an inducement or provocation, or even an opportunity, to desert their officers and join their fortunes to those of the band which still hopes to effect the installation of the Great Mogul in the sovereignty of India. The large cantonment of Cawnpore, where the influence of example, a contiguous spirit of revolution and the absence of European troops seemed to offer peculiar incitements to mutiny was hitherto preserved by the energy and skill of one of the ablest of our living commanders. The station has at least struggled out of his hands and sent forth its garrison to swell the ranks of the insurgent mob. On the morning of the 5th Instant—hardly is intelligence received in these days from the nearest points on the line of road-way which till hitherto was the best organized for the purposes of communication in all India—the 1st and 56th regiments of Native Infantry and the 2nd Cavalry broke out into open mutiny. They appear to have proceeded in the orthodox way of rifling the treasury, breaking open and emptying the jail, burning the houses and massacring the European residents. The exact measure of opposition they met with from the few European troops recently thrown into the station, and that of their success, are not known. It is believed, however, that the extent of damage done by them to life and property is not inferior to what their brethren at similarly large army stations have achieved.

Their destination—not final of course—is probably Fyzabad in Oude. At Shahjehanpore, the 28th N.I. have revolted. They have murdered a large number of their officers and the Magistrate, Mr. Mordaunt Ricketts. The 55th N.I. at Nowshera revolted about the end of last month. This, we believe, is the only corps in the Lahore territories which has actually risen

upon its officers. The mutineers seem to have been joined by a portion of the 30th Irregular Cavalry. How they were put down we are left to conjecture. 500 men of the 55th have managed to escape to the Swat hills, where they will endeavour to raise the local tribe of Afghans against the frontiers. A hundred and fifty of the mutineers have been captured and have probably by this time expiated their offence with their lives at Peshawar. The troops in Oude have almost without exception mutinied, and the province, with the exception of the capital, is virtually in their hands. The rebels have proclaimed the deposed king as monarch of Oude again. Sir Henry Lawrence's position must be extremely critical. With the entire province in rebellion, and Cawnpore in utter disorganization, he is left solely to his own resources to maintain authority. It is said that the Nepalese troops have descended, and are chasing the mutineers from their haunts. The rebels in Oude have chosen Fyzabad for their headquarters, but it will not be long before they make an attempt on Lucknow.

The 22nd Regiment has gone through its duty of mutinying in a manner the peculiarity of which beats hollow the conduct of the 9th mutineers, and adds to the many perplexities of the person who may at some future day be called upon to trace the causes of these mutinies. A correspondent of the *Hurkaru*, who derives his information from one of the fugitives from Fyzabad, says that the account beats any romance. The regiment "guarded their officers and bungalows after mutinying, placed sentries over magazines and all public property, sent out pickets to prevent the towns people and servants from looting, held a council of war in which the cavalry (Fisher's Irregulars) proposed to kill the officers, but the 22nd objected and informed the officers that they would be allowed to leave, and might take with them their private arms and property but no public property, as that all belonged to the King of Oude. The officers asked for boats; the rebel Commissary General's Ressaldar was ordered to provide them; he did so, but merely small dingies, so that they could only bring away a bundle each, and then they were presented with rupees 900 which the rebels had taken

from the treasure chest to give them. When the officers tried to recall them to their duty they respectfully assured them that they were now under the orders of their native officers and that the Subadar Major of the 22nd Regiment had been appointed Commandant of the station and that each corps had appointed one of their officers to be their chief. The 17th Regiment, the rebels, were marching into Fyzabad the day the officers were leaving it, having the day before dustoor maafik sent in a Russed Guard. The next day they saw the Rear Guard of the 17th in the river bank marching in regular order ; ... Maun Sing who was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Oude by the King of Delhi has taken most of the ladies under his protection and has promised to be kind of them. One lady of the 22nd was near her confinement ; her husband, a Captain took her to the lines and said to the men, if you kill me I must leave my wife to your protection. A Havildar whose home was on the opposite side of the river at once got leave to take them both to his home, where they should be protected, and the Surgeon was sent over after them."

Authentic intelligence has been received from Dehli down to the 11th June. A portion of the wall near one of the gates had been breached but the final assault had not been made. The mutineers are described to be in a panic and the King is anxious to throw himself on British protection. We repeat our belief that the city has since been taken. Down to the 22nd Instant, the country around Allahabad was in the possession of the insurgents who, headed by a Moulvee, have proclaimed Mussulman dominion. Constant sallies are made from the fort, the garrison of which has been strengthened by detachment of H. M.'s 84th Foot, into the country around. In these incursions the Sheiks and a steamer have done good service. The villages towards Cawnpore have been deserted for about 20 miles. The road between Benares and Allahabad had been cleared. Regular Dawk communication has also been established between Meerut and Kurnaul.

Farther particulars have been received of the mutiny at Nusseerabad. The 15th N. I. rose first, and with the arti-

lery compelled the not unwilling 30th, by threats of an immediate cannonade in case of refusal, to join them, the latter regiment telling its officers to shift for themselves. In fact, none of the officers of the mutinying troops appear to have been killed. It was the 1st Bombay Lancers which, though only 350 strong, repeatedly charged the rebel infantry and guns, that he suffered both in its officers and its ranks. The gallantry of the Lancers reminds one of, if it cannot be compared to, the Balaklava charge. The 21st and 72nd N. I. and the 1st L. C. rose at Neemuch of the 31st Ultimo. Almost all the officers and their families are safe ; but their houses and property have been burnt down, and the town is in the hands of the insurgents. The Malwa contingent murdered their officers while proceeding to coerce the mutineers at Neemuch. The Saugor and Nerbudda territories are in an agitated state, and fears are entertained for Nagpore.

The general state of the country from Allahabad to Ferozepore and from the foot of the hills on the borders of Oude to the southern confines of Rajpootanah and the Saugor districts may be described as more or less under the influence of the rebels. It is this immense tract which will have to be traversed and cleared. The arrangements made for this purpose, and which will be completed on the arrival of the European troops daily expected are, as far as we can judge, the formation of field forces at the extremities of the disturbed country. A column is to be formed at Allahabad as the head of which Brigadier General Havelock, just returned from Persia, will march upwards till he meets the Umballa force at or below Dehli. The latter force which has cleared the country down to Dehli will then probably cooperate to reduce into order the turbulent provinces of Rohilkund and Oude. On the other side, the Bombay brigade, which has formed for the service, will march up Rajpootanah, scouring on its way, the adjacent tracts. The plan is obviously the best that could be adopted to extirpate the rebellion and restore tranquility, but its execution will for sometime be necessarily imperfect in consequence of the paucity of European troops. The steamers which bear four of Her Majesty's

regiments for the east are expected with feverish anxiety. Meanwhile, the troops already converging towards the heart of rebellion will, no doubt press on against the heaviest odds, and circumscribe the area of the last operation.

26 June 1857

THE METROPOLIS AND ITS SAFETY

The dreaded 23rd day of June has passed, and it is a satisfaction to feel, as we for our part undoubtedly feel, that we are alive. Not a groan was heard, not a drop of blood in anger shed, on that day—the last to be, according to Hindoo and Mahomedan prophecy, of British dominion in Bengal, on the contrary, the streets of the city were filled in the afternoon with gay throngs clad in holiday attire to witness or to draw the car of the Hindoo deity who has always been the chief object of Moslem iconoclasm. If possible, the crowd and the merriment were greater this year than ever since Calcutta was placed under its reformed police. To whomsoever we owe this narrow escape from destruction,—whether to the all knowing Calcutta police, to Mr. Galliffe's invincibles, to Mr. Bourke's free companions, or to the Calcutta volunteers,—we tender our warmest acknowledgements, leaving these last to be appropriated... according to their several merits.

With the native regiments disarmed and the centenary of the battle of Plassey passed, we trust our Christian fellow-subjects will allow themselves that peace of which on insufficient reasons they have so long deprived themselves. For the native portion of our fellow-townsmen we but crave that the system of terrorism under which they have been kept for the last two weeks may be mitigated to an endurable form. For two weeks, the town has been in a state of siege. Not a soul allowed to enter it from the suburbs a little after evening till daylight, not one to traverse the streets without giving a full account of himself and his purposes. The Mahomedans have been frightened with stories of soldiers being let loose against them, and they are

sending away their families to where they conceive safety is to be found. The regular police was paralyzed by volunteer guards and extensive arrests were made on the least sustainable and sometimes unascertainable grounds.

Our remarks about the Volunteer Guards have been misunderstood. We did not, indeed, see any urgent necessity for it; but we did not object to the formation of a body of militia composed of the local residents. Calcutta might have become, and possibly yet may be, the scene of an outbreak, and then it were a duty unsusceptible of evasion for every inhabitant to fight in the cause of order. Combination and discipline would do much to enhance the efficiency of these fighters, and both would be secured by the enrolment of the citizens into a militia corps. All this is true, and up to this point we have no objection to take. Such things have precedents in the histories of civilized cities; and the inhabitants of Calcutta have done well to endeavour to follow those precedents. A militia regiment so raised would, if posted judiciously, form a valuable aid to the regular troops in case of any outbreak. But what have we had instead of a militia? Volunteer Guards. A body of private men arrogating to themselves of power above the law, the right of breaking it daily and nightly by going about with arms in hand to the terror of Her Majesty's liege subjects, and breathing fierce hatred against the native inhabitants—the majority of their fellow-citizens. It had become positively unsafe for a native, whatever be his rank or his character, to stir out in the nights after the guards sallied forth from their dinners. Carriages were stopped, persons searched, insulting epithets applied, and occasionally a shove or a stroke added to prove that the sepoys shall not conquer India. We are glad that this nuisance has, in a great measure, been abated. The Town Major has directed that the infantry of the Guard shall not patrol the streets, but remain at home; or mount piquet guards at convenient localities. The mounted volunteers still patrol, but as they are generally composed of persons of character and position, nothing in the shape of unnecessary violence is expected of them. So far from

wishing ill to the corps, we hope it will survive the present occasion and turn into an established civic institution. With an occasional parade and drills at stated periods, it may be kept up in a state of considerable efficiency, and while its existence may prove a fact often doubted, namely, that the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta have some public spirit in them, it may do the city, if not the state, much service in times of commotion and trouble.

25 June 1857

THE RICE PANIC

The rise in the price of all sorts of provisions which was hitherto so gradual in and around the metropolis of Bengal has now suddenly made itself alarmingly felt in the value of the chief necessary of life—rice. In a few weeks the price of the article has increased by thirty to forty per cent. and the impression is very general that the stock remaining in the country will, before new supplies come in, be exhausted by consumption, that is, that a famine is inevitable. Perhaps, it is this last mentioned impression which has aided a real demand in sending up prices so high. There has, of necessity, been considerable suffering among the classes which subsist on incomes fixed in money and not very large in amount. Complaints have been made to Government and carried, we believe, to the Legislative Council. The latter authority has undertaken to enquire into the extent and nature of the distress said to be prevailing and to find a remedy for it. The Board of Revenue, it is stated, has been directed to furnish a return of the quantity of rice annually exported during the last few years and the prices ruling during the same period. The return will enable the authorities to ascertain the relation between exports and prices, and the allowance that is to be made for the operation of other causes. Whatever relief the legislature can afford us in these circumstances must be by interfering with the freedom of trade ; and that is an operation which at the first

mention will alarm a large number of doctrinaires as well as men of real influence. If heavy duties be once laid upon the exportation of rice from this port, their speedy repeal is not a matter of such certainty as most as people will imagine. We may then have really to enter upon a free trade struggle.

Let us enquire what is the real amount of distress which has moved our legislators to take into consideration the necessity of interfering with one of the most important branches of the country's trade, what may be the causes to which that distress is owing, what the prospects of its alleviation by the operation of natural causes, and whether the recent rise in the value of rice and other necessities is not an indication and a necessary result to social progress. In the first place, it is clear that the distress, whatever it be, is confined to the class which subsists on wages or other incomes measured by fixed amounts of money. The agriculturist who produces rice and the merchant who deals in it, the workman whose wages vary according to the demand for his labour and the capitalist whose profits are measured by the extent of industrial and commercial operations, suffer nothing by the increase of exportations. They, on the contrary, benefit more or less by it. It is a fact the wages have increased within the last few years, at least in the districts near the metropolis, in a much large degree than the prices of provisions and other necessities of life ; it is a fact that the ryot was never so prosperous, so far as his pecuniary means are concerned, as now ; it is a fact that our commerce latterly has outgrown our most sanguine expectations ; it is a fact that in spite of an unprecedented importation of money, and the greatest security in its employment, the premium upon its use is as high as if the lender and borrower lived in the days of Shah Allum. If then it is only the class that feeds on fixed salaries be affected injuriously by the rise in prices, the Legislature could hardly be justified in deranging the existing order of things by violent interference with the course of trade. This class has had its day of rejoicing. A considerable portion of its comforts and enjoyments rests on the cheapness of articles imported from foreign countries,—cloth

and metallic ware, for instance. These articles have for many years past been at its disposal in greater abundance than it ever had before. If, therefore, it has now to sustain an increased expenditure on other objects of consumption, it has the consolation that, on the whole, its condition has not deteriorated. Nor should it be forgotten that, if the pressure upon the salaried class becomes disproportionately great, its income will gradually readjust itself to its necessities by the sure and inevitable operation of natural causes. The rise in the value of necessities is an inseparable condition of social progress. But it is generally a nominal rise only. The same amount of money will now purchase a smaller quantity of provisions, but money though most common is not correct measure of value. The same amount of labour will now purchase the same or a larger quantity of necessities that it did before. Estimated by the quantity of labour for which they are to be purchased, it will be found that concurrently with the rise in the price of provisions the means for paying for them are enlarged also.

We account it very natural in the salaried class to be anxious for the stoppage of exportations of rice. But they have considered what will be the consequences of the measure? Even if the embargo were laid for a season only, the agricultural interest will suffer much more than the salaried class will gain. In the long run both must suffer. The necessary consequence of the stoppage of exportation, or in other words, the decrease of demand, will be to throw much land out of cultivation or at all events to diminish the area of land now cultivated for rice. The produce will be smaller, and prices will rebound to as high a figure as they ever attained under a system of the most unrestricted exportation. The growing prosperity of the several rice-producing provinces would receive a severe check. Southern Bengal, now a garden; the Sunderbunds, fast clearing; the province of Arracan, rapidly increasing in wealth and population, will all suffer to a degree which the most selfish salary-drawer cannot contemplate without pain.

As to the fears entertained by a portion of the public of an eventual famine, we may at once pronounce them utterly un-

founded. The past two years have been years of plenty as regards production ; and the stock in hand is not likely to be seriously diminished by the exportation of a few lacs of maunds to China—a quantity scarcely equal to a week's consumption of the population of Bengal.

25 June 1857

SEPOY OUTBREAK (Correspondence)

To the Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*

Sir,

We all know that outbreaks of a darker and fiercer description than the one raised rashly by the Native sepoys will not be able to shake the British Banner. We all know that it originated from a foolish notion of the weakness of the Government, arising not from want of sound political or wide statesmanlike principles in its ever wise administration, not from any sudden, miraculous falling off in its moral strength, but mainly arising from a disproportion of European Regiments to the Native ones. This notion of weakness of the Government would have operated but slowly to incite the spirit of disaffection in the minds of the sepoys had not the already created flame been fanned by a false impression of the cartridge being smeared with fat and marrow, and views of the Government being to make whole India of one religion ; and had not the still unknown evil minded conspirators—the bane of our Indian welfare—by artfully magnifying the good that will accrue from a change of the reigning dynasty stained those semi-frantic sepoys to the highest pitch of fatal enthusiasm. Deluded by the calm appearance of the Government, proudly to think themselves capable to measure their might with that of their masters, their fate is already fixed—transportation for the deserters, execution for the revoltors and eternal distrust of the race at large. This sepoy insurrection, though it may not amount to any substantial detriment to the well-being of the country, may make heavy the mind of the Government against the innocent natives.

Oppressed and trodden long by the relentless and inhumane Mahomedans—unsoftened by the influence of sober reason—unillumined by the enlightened views of modern times—but hardened into cruelty by avarice and rapacity—the marks of a diseased state of the mind—and enjoying all the prosperity ever experienced by the country within the memory say of six generations, the natives never wish, nor is there the necessity, for new masters, for a fate wholly precarious and uncertain.

Yours,
C.

2 July 1857

THE REBELLION

The tale of mutiny and rebellion this week been varied by accounts of a catastrophe even more horrible in its details than the massacres with which the revolt was inaugurated : When the troops at Cawnpore rose against their officers, the intrenched position which Sir Henry Wheler by a commendable foresight had constructed at the station gave shelter to almost all the numerous European inhabitants of the town. It was then a matter of congratulation that no lives had been lost in a mutiny of the most formidable description. It was, moreover, hoped that the little garrison within the entrenchment would be able to hold out against the large body of rebel besiegers until succours arrived. The congratulations were too early and the hope fallacious. The besiegers had possession of several guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition, and were soon joined by one of the rebel batteries from Oude. They plied this artillery with great effect upon the besieged, who, harassed by the unceasing fire of their enemies, and dispirited by the non-arrival of succour, and still more so by the mortal injuries received by the veteran general who conducted the defence, at last determined to capitulate, overtures were with that view made to the individual who seems to have placed himself at the head of the rebellion in the district of Cawnpore—recommended to that

past doubtless by his position as the surviving dependant of a deposed prince and more strongly by his success the massacre of the European fugitives from Futtyghur. Dhoondoopunt Nanajee is the adopted son of the late Bajee Rao, whose career as Peishwa of the Mahratta confederacy was cut short by Sir John Malcolm. He imbibed from his patron all that refinement of treachery and faithlessness which characterised Bajee Rao's own conduct throughout his reign. On the death of Bajee Rao, Dhoondoopunt applied for a reversion of his splendid pension, and failing with the Government here sent a native agent to England where his suit was equally unsuccessful. Meanwhile, by a series of intrigues, forgeries, and perjuries, he deprived the rightful heir of the Peishwa of all the property left by the deceased Bajee Rao. He still maintained a high position which he has now turned to the purposes of rebellion. Nanajee Sahib readily acceded to the proposals of the besieged garrison, and promised an oath to let them to go unmolested to Allahabad. No sooner however were they on board the boats which were to convey them down than fire was opened upon them from batteries on the right bank of the river. The hapless passengers endeavoured to escape by the other bank, but a body of cavalry cut off all those who landed. Thus was the entire body of refugees destroyed. If this harrowing tale be true, for doubts have been cast upon it, the safety of every other post of the country may be disregarded to afford means for avenging the massacre of the Cawnpore refugees. For treachery so base, so vile and so appalling in its consequences, punishment no doubt will be meted out. We only hope that punishment may not be dealt out too late. Nature of course will be suppressed by civilization, and Dhoondoopunt spared a punishment which if a Mogul or a Mahratta were to inflict it would have combined in his single person the sufferings of his hundreds of victims. There should also be enquiry why the gallant Wheler had to wait for succours from Allahabad until all succour was too late.

The fall of Cawnpore seems to have taken place on the 28th ultimo. The event appears to have precipitated a general

assault upon Lucknow by the mutineers of the Oude force. It is very probable that, as stated, Sir Henry Lawrence finding his position in the city no longer tenable, burnt it down and fell upon Cawnpore which place, jointly with the force under Colonel Neill, he may have already regained.

From Gwalior, the accounts are very unfavourable. The troops so long held in subordinations broke out on the evening of the 13th ultimo in mutiny. They are said to have attempted a general massacre, but the officers with a few exception and the ladies have succeeded in escaping to Agra. The mutineers intend, it is said, to march upon Cawnpore, but the probability is that they will endeavour to attack Agra first.

The first official report of General Barnard, in command of the force lately operating against Delhi was received in town during the past week. It relates only the incidents of the first encounter with the rebels beyond the walls of the city where they had entrenched themselves. Their position was carried with very little loss to General Barnard's force if we may except the death of Colonel Chester, Adjutant General of the army, who fell in the assault. The rebels left twenty-six guns in the hands of the force. This occurred 8th of last month. On the 12th after the city had been shelled and breaches had been made in the walls, an assault was made with decided success. The mutineers are said to have "faught like fiends" and the roads of the city were blocked up with their dead and dying bodies. The remainder took refuge in the palace, upon which guns were soon made to bear with effect. The palace walls were laid low, and the rebels again had to meet their foes in open fight. Seven thousand of them are stated to have been killed, on General Barnard's side the loss must have been severe too, and Her Majesty's 75th Foot is said to have suffered much. The city has been rescued however from the hands of the rebels.

The fall of Delhi will disengage a large portion of the force employed against that city. Leaving a garrison there, this force will probably make the detour of the Rohilkund province and clear the intermediate districts of all marauders.

In this operation a portion of the Meerut troops will join. The country between Cawnpore and Meerut will first have to be quieted and the safety of Agra looked of before operations are undertaken against Gwalior on the one side and Oude on the other. It will also be an object of immediate attention to strengthen the garrisons in lower part of the country. The disturbances in Patna of which reports have lately come in show at least that too much dependence cannot be placed upon the security of these places. The seven hundred men of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers just arrived per "Simoon" from the Mauritius might form a very desirable addition to the small garrisons of Berhampore, Raneegunge, Patna, Dinajpore, and Benares. The part of the country already tranquilised should be placed beyond the possibility of disturbed again.

9 July 1857

THE MUTINY AT DELHI

There have been placed before the public several detailed narratives of the occurrences which took place at Delhi when the mutiny broke out in that city. They are given by eye-witnesses, and are evidently truthful. From these accounts some idea may be formed of the character of the outbreak in its earlier stages and some conjecture as to the immediate motives to it. We must note a few leading incidents which preceded the outbreak. The suspicion about the cartridges had taken possession of the Sepoy mind. Some troops had disobeyed, and their disobedience had met with punishment. The 19th regiment of Infantry had been disbanded, and a portion of the 34th regiment also. The Sepoys saw that Government would not overlook insubordination. On the other hand, they believed themselves, or were led to believe themselves, to be in the right. It became with them a point of honor to resist the introduction of the cartridges. The entire native army was in a state of intense excitement. At this time, the men of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut were ordered to use the

cartridges. Some disobeyed. They were tried by a Court Martial. The public, by which we mean that portion of the community which reads the English newspapers and bears no official responsibility, became clamorous for some severe punishment being inflicted upon the offending troopers. The court awarded a sentence fully justifiable on legal and moral grounds, but we have not a moments hesitation to say that expediency was not consulted in that award. Condemned to ten years imprisonment and prison labour, the convicts found themselves in a condition which in their estimation might be bettered by death. And their comrades thought so too. They believed that the alternatives presented to them by their masters were degradation from caste and a punishment, worse than death. They tried to evade both by mutinying. The events which occurred at Meerut on the evening of the 10th May have already been narrated at length in these columns. By a neglect which a veteran soldier has expiated with the loss of a highly honourable and remunerative post, the mutineers were allowed to leave Meerut almost unhurt. The main body of the Meerut mutineers however did not arrive in Delhi till the 12th.

Only 18 troopers of the 3rd Cavalry first entered Delhi, and that was on the morning of the 11th,—twelve hours after the mutiny commenced at Meerut. They must have been sent from Meerut as an advanced guard immediately after the regiments had risen on their arrival at Dehli, they plundered the ferry toll chest, while one of the infantry regiments in cantonments, probably the 11th, crossed over to the city. The mutiny became general, but yet of a passive nature on the part of the Infantry. The Commissioner was attacked, but he escaped into the palace after shooting down two of his assailants. The palace gates were closed. A trooper rode up to them and told the Subadar in command of the palace guard to open the doors. The Subadar asked to know who the trooper was. "I am a trooper from Meerut", was the reply. "Where are the others?" "They are at the Ungoorree Baugh." The gates were opened evidently in accordance with preconcerted arrangements,

and the Commissioner and his Assistant were hacked to pieces by the troopers. Then followed the almost indiscriminate slaughter of Europeans of all ages, of both sexes and of every profession. The actors in this tragedy were principally the troopers of the 3rd Cavalry. Those who took refuge with the King were given up by him in terror, and they were instantly murdered by the troopers who pointed to the marks left by the irons they wore in the Meerut jail as a justification of the wholesale butchery. They proclaimed the installation of the Great Mogul, raised the adjacent villages against the British power, and prepared for an organized defence of the city.

We will mention two other incidents of this mutiny before we endeavour to draw any conclusions from it. The troopers allowed the mob to plunder, but would not touch the booty itself, calling it Haram. Again, when the Delhi bankers were called upon by the rebels and the King of Delhi to supply the troops, they offered to give them dali and attah, but the mutineers expected to live but a few days, and the doomed men would not content themselves with such poor fare. The plunder of the several treasuries amounted to near twenty two lacs of rupees, and this money was duly stored under proper guards for the purposes of the war.

The conclusions suggested by this narrative are obviously such as invalidate the supposition of an extensive conspiracy having been in existence for a long time before the mutiny at Meerut had broken out. There was of course a perfect oneness of spirit throughout the sepoy army that is a necessary result of the composition of that army and the social circumstances in which it is placed. Drawn from a limited class of the Indian population or rather from a limited class in a few districts in India, there is a close sympathy between the individual members of that vast body of Hindoo and Mahomedan warriors. This sympathy is much stronger than a mere class feeling ;—it is the feeling which binds together a secret society or a religious brotherhood. It was this feeling which led the three thousand troops of all arms at Meerut to sympathise with the eighty five troopers who had incurred the heavy penalty of military

disobedience. The feeling of course was strongest in the offenders' own regiment, and they must have, from the moment men were put in arrest, actively canvassed their brethren of the infantry at the station, and then all combined made overtures to the neighbouring garrison of Delhi. The infantry regiments evidently drifted into the rebellion prompted by their mounted brethren. Not that they were indisposed for it, but the impulse was wanting till the 3d cavalry gave it. To reconquer the country from the hands of the British was neither their hope nor their aim. They knew themselves to be doomed, and to that doom they hastened with the feeling of martyrs. As might be expected, martyrdom gained proselytes, until now the greater portion of the Bengal army are rebels.

9 July 1857

THE MUTINIES, THE ENGLISH PRESS AND THE NATIVES

The spirit of the English press in India manifests itself in its true form whenever an occasion of more than ordinary interest or importance calls it forth. That press incessantly complains of the small degree of influence it commands over the affairs of the country ; but it never has the sense to perceive or the candour to acknowledge that its want of influence is solely due to the utter absence of any element of influence in the class of which it is genuinely the organ. It neither sympathises with the people nor advocates their interests. Its deficiencies on the score of ability are not made up by its truthfulness as a mirror of the public mind. An English journalist in India could, if he chose, assume a position that which one more honorable, more useful, and more beneficially influential no member of his profession could desire to occupy. Here are a hundred and fifty millions of human beings possessing, in addition to the claims of their common humanity with him, the rights derived from common subjection to the same sovereign. English politicians in general, we know, are incapable of raising

themselves to a conception of imperial interests. They have no idea of how various races of different colours, different creeds and in different stages of civilization can be governed by one ruler ; and they quarrel over a maynooth grant or an assimilation of legal jurisdictions with an energy and a rancour that a revolution could scarcely excite. The British empire in India is now, for instance, passing through a crisis the occurrence of which some day or other was certain. Ideas which could not but have been generated in the Indian mind when the empire passed into British hands, and which are in no human community susceptible of thorough absorption, are now, like noxious matter in a healthy frame, discharging themselves through their appropriate channels. Conquest begot legitimacy, and legitimacy has begotten sedition. The conflict of Asiatic stationaryism with an advancing civilization like that of Britain was inevitable when the two were brought so closely together ; and a religious war became sure when prejudices two thousand years old were rudely disturbed by the genius of progress. It is only a matter of wonder that so many years should have passed before an armed effort should have been made to reseat the Great Mogul on the throne of India, to put down the strange ideas in religion and morality imported into native society ; and to bring the country back to the state from which the decree of providence rescued it a century ago. No student of history feels surprised that papacy should have essayed through the Second James to undo the reformation in England, or that two generations of Stuarts should have found followers to contend for them against the Hanover dynasty. Were the British journalist in India worthy of his post, the events now passing around us would have presented themselves to him in the light of necessary sequences to that one great event—the establishment of British supremacy in India ; and he would never have dreamt of progress being stopt or reformation put back. He would have pondered the means and pointed out the ways by which the healing operation should be performed concomitant pain may be assuaged, and the political frame soonest replaced in

sound health. The English press in India, however, has put forth but foul ideas on the occasion,—the abolition of the Presidency College and the Mudrassa, the Volunteer Guards, Darogaships to be filled by pensioned Serjeants, and the civil service replaced by Indigo Planters' Assistants. These are, we admit, the genuine sentiments of the British public in India. The English press has but feebly and dilutedly expressed the topmost thoughts of those it represents.

Our English contemporaries are unanimous in their advocacy of the "four points" we have noted. The *Englishman* would throw all civil and political power into the hands of the "adventurers". The *Hurkaru* in his issue of the 30th ultimo suggested a more extended employment of subordinate European agency in this country. The *Phoenix* ever ready to pursue in the wake of the *Hurkaru*, though never backward in cavilling at his senior, extends his advocacy to the more extended employment of East India agency also. We do not object to the employment of men, because they are Europeans, East Indians or Bengallees, in subordinate public offices. But what we contend for is the employment of the fittest persons in such offices without reference to their color or creed. We neither mind nor care whether Europeans, East Indians or Bengallees are extensively employed by the government, so long as the persons selected to hold public situations of trust and confidence are qualified for them. But at the same time we cannot but state that we look upon the puny efforts of our daily contemporaries to damage the character, reputation and prospects of our countrymen with sheer contempt, while the spirit that prompts those efforts is calculated only to excite disgust. The *Phoenix* has the audacity, not to say the impudence, to assert that "the Court of Directors in its philanthropic moments and Governors in this Country in similar moods were but too willing to believe that patronising the natives and bolstering them, fitted or unfitted, into the majority of the uncovenanted situations in the country would have the effect of Europeanizing them in feeling, and rendering them thoroughly loyal

subjects. Such effects are not, however to be produced in a hurry. The native is native still, and will remain so in thought and feeling and habits for generations to come."

The *Phoenix* would either have all the Bengallee Deputy Magistrates, Deputy Collectors and Darroghahs sent about their business or the doors to such situations barred against natives for the future, because of the conduct of certain Mahomedan government officials during the present, and, we may hope soon to be past, rebellion. We cannot condemn our contemporary in terms strong enough when he says that the "native is a native still". What a gross and astounding perversion of facts ! We leave it to our readers to pass the verdict, whether a Bengallee of the present day is what is great grand-father was in the days of Lord Clive. The *Phoenix* would have it that the native mind has made no progress during the lapse of a century under the British rule. A greater fallacy could not have been uttered. Let us meet with facts the assertion that the natives (of course the Bengallees not excepted), whether fitted or unfitted, are provided for in the majority of these uncovenanted situations by the government. How many Europeans or East Indians are there who can undertake the ministerial duties of the judicial, the revenue or the criminal departments, even if remunerated on a far higher scale than native employees in them are ? Yet these duties form the chief part of the domestic government of the country. What would be the effect of taking away every Moonsiffship in the country from the hands of natives ? Yet these Moonsiffs transact three-fourths of the judicial business of the country. We need not multiply instances. The civil service above all, has the lion's share of abuse for unduly befriending (as is supposed) the natives. A recent instance will suffice to show that the natives do not owe their places in the public service to the personal favor or misdirected partiality of governors or the civil service. Baboo Shama Churun Sircar successfully competed the other day with more than half a dozen Europeans and East Indians and obtained the Interpretership of the Supreme Court. Would the *Phoenix* have the public

believe that the august judges of the court are better disposed to the Bengallee than to their own race. We say not. Mr. Aviet had for years been employed as interpreter of the Supreme Court. Why was a Bengallee selected for the post on his retirement? It was the incompetency of his competitors of other races that gave him the place. We are positive in our belief that a greater number of unfit Europeans and East Indians will be found in the enjoyment of the most lucrative of uncovenanted situations than the natives. But we do not wish to promote dissension among fellow-subjects. We have been driven to make these remarks by the violence of our contemporaries who, for weeks past, have been agitating this invidious topic with unabated rancour. We hope that the day is not distant when only qualified men would be extensively employed in the public service, knowing full well that the greatest advantage will, by such a distribution of office, be secured to our countrymen.

9 July 1857

THE REBELLION

The rebellion has now assumed an intelligible shape. The rebels have found a leader, and what is more— a leader with a purpose. A dependant of a prince who was deposed forty years ago has undertaken the hopeful task of wresting the empire of India from Great Britain. The hanger-on of the last of a line of usurpers who governed a portion of central India for about a century of the dark ages has announced himself as the legitimate sovereign of the cantonment. Dhoondoopunt Nanajee has chosen himself as the champion of Indian independence. The success with which he suborned perjury to deprive his patron's heirs of their heritage has emboldened him to strive with the sword for the monarchy of Hindostan. The Sepoy mutineers seem to have been relieved of a great want. In those obese gentlemen with necklaces of gold ingots—the Subadars and Jemadars of the Bengal army—they found only leaders of companies and eaters,

of ghee. In the King of Delhi they have found a leader willing to wound but afraid to strike. The corpse of Mogul sovereignty cannot be resuscitated by the elixir of rebellion. The King of Oude is in prison, and he has given too many hostages to British clemency for him to assume the direction of the Sepoy revolt. The Sepoys locked a head and they have, we repeat, found within the last few weeks, one, the only head that the country could spare for a body so convulsed with the throes of death and despair as the mutinous soldiery and unhung scoundrelism of upper India constitute.

The head quarters of rebellion have been transferred from Delhi to Agra. Whatever may have been the fate of the first-named city, it is to the latter that the disaffected of all classes will now look for the realization of their hopes. The dream of renewed Mahratta supremacy is to be realised at the capital of Akber. The troops of the Maharajah of Gwalior obeyed, we believe, a summons from the man who has assumed the extinct name of Peishwa, when they rose against their rightful master, and invested the central seat of upper Indian government. The fort of Agra, meagrely garrisoned as it is with a single regiment of European Infantry and perhaps an equal number of armed Christian inhabitants, will, we doubt not, succeed in baffling the rebel besiegers until succour arrives. Of Delhi it is unnecessary to speak except as of a doomed city. The latest advices received direct from that place extend to the 16th June, when the besieging army, after having driven the rebels within the walls of the fort of palace, awaited reinforcements to complete their ruin. The besieged have made repeated sallies, but have invariably been repulsed with slaughter. We know not what credit to attach to the statement that the rebels are aided by the advice of Europeans. The body of one of them killed is said to have been recognized as that of an officer cashiered two years ago.

The work of clearance is proceeding from this side of the country. Between Calcutta and Allahabad all is quiet, except the hearts of the alarmists. Between Allahabad and Cawnpore, the country is still unsettled, but the victory recently gained by General Havelock's column over a large body of rebels presages

the speedy relief of the latter city. The harrowing story of the surrender of Cawnpore and the subsequent massacre of its inhabitants has been vehemently contradicted. Whether Sir Henry Wheeler lives or not, his spirit remains, and it may be believed that a gallant defence has been crowned with the successful rescue of the town.

The week has brought no tidings of fresh mutinies. The spirit of unreasoning insubordination which has driven so many thousands of disciplined men to rebellion seems to have at last been exhausted. With the defection of the Gwalior contingent a pause appears to have ensued in the series of overtures to fortune in which regiment after regiment threw away all its most valuable prospects and drew down upon itself certain destruction. Details of the mutinies continue to arrive from different stations; but they scarcely shed light on the original cause of the outbreak. It is difficult to fathom the motives of men who one moment fight with their comrades to save their officer's lives and the next turn out mutineers of the worst stamp. The 29th N. I. at Moradabad held out a long time, and were the terror of straggling mutineers in the district, until they heard of the rising of the troops at Bareilly, when they civilly dismissed their officers, escorted the ladies to a considerable distance and proceeded to plunder the public treasury. The 20th N. I. after mutinying detached a portion to escort the officers and their families to the Hills, and then went to depose the Nawab of Rampore and hold his territory for the King of Delhi. The 8th Irregular Cavalry contained a good many loyal officers and troopers who escorted the Europeans to Meerut. Even in the Gwalior Contingent this sort of chivalrous faithlessness was not wanting. The Second Infantry regiment of that force after escorting a number of ladies to Agra went and took possession of the town of Etawah. The mutineers of the Bengal army know not indeed what they do.

The revolt has attained proportions which demand a larger force of Europeans to quell it than the country can immediately yield. We have yet hopes that the regiments ordered for

China will be brought to these shores. A much stronger army must by this time be half way to India from England. Meanwhile we put our trust in the bulk of our countrymen in upper India that they will not lose heart and waver in their allegiance.

16 July 1857

THE REBELLION

The tide at last seems to have turned, and the surges of revolt, after, ravaging the best part of the Indian continent, appear to be subsiding. At its height the rebellion covered the entire territory from Benares to the Sutledge and from the foot of the Himalayas to the Nerbudda. Yielding partly to exhaustion and partly to external force it now seems to be flowing back and collecting itself in a few central situations. Delhi, Agra, Bareilly and Lucknow on the north, and Jhansi and Indore on the south, with the districts surrounding them, are now, as far as we can judge, under the influence of the rebel forces. The scattered bands of mutineers and disaffected men are converging towards those places and endeavouring to find safety, as men in fright always do, in multitudes of partners in doom. Places that have been once rescued have since remained secure and quiet, and rightful authority has reasserted its dominion over hundreds of miles that had been in occupation of the rebels.

The recapture of Cawnpore by the force under General Havelock, closely followed as it was by the occupation of Bithour, was the turning point of events. The first mentioned operation was completed on the 16th Instant, and from the moment the event was announced public confidence has been rising higher and higher. The importance of the place itself was considerable, but it received a fictitious addition from the circumstance of its being the chosen stand of the leader of the rebellion in one of its most important branches. A force of twelve thousand men under the personal direction of Dhoondoo-

punt Nanajee disputed the occupation of the town. The battle lasted above two hours, and ended in the retreat of the rebel chief to his residence at Bithour. This misfortune damped the spirits of his followers who began to desert him. On the 19th, Bithour was occupied without resistance, Nanajee having previously made his escape. The dispersion of this force appears to be complete. A heavy blow has been struck at a plan which promised to resuscitate the great Mahratta confederacy laid low forty years ago by the Marquis of Hastings, and the aspirer after a second Peishwaship in central India has been rudely shaken out of his dreams. It is now matter for conjecture whether the next move of General Havelock will be upon Lucknow or Agra. He has himself reported "Lucknow quite safe for the present." The statement lately put forth that the city of Agra has fallen into the hands of the rebels and that the fort is closely invested obtains considerable credit here. Should such be the case, and General Havelock be assured of it, he will no doubt, after providing for the safety of Cawnpore, direct his first movements with a view to the relief of the capital of upper India. This operation must not, of course, be undertaken in too much haste, for Cawnpore as the base of operations on this side of the country is of too great importance to be left with a weak garrison to defend it at once against the Oude insurgents and any force that the fugitive Nana Sahib may possibly be able to raise in the south.

The situation of the garrison of Lucknow has called forth general sympathy as well owing to the critical circumstances in which it is placed as from the loss it has sustained in the death of its able leader, Sir Henry Lawrence, though, no tactician and but possessing a small share of military experience, conducted the defence of his position with great tact and bravery. He laboured under the great disadvantage of having no regular fortifications to take shelter in case of pressing need. The Mucneebehawun and the Residency which he had strengthened by means of earth works, afforded but insufficient protection against the large numbers of rebels environing them. The garrison was therefore oftener compelled to make sorties than it

would have been advisable to do with so small a force if it had better cover. In one of these sorties, Sir Henry Lawrence received the wounds which caused his death on the 4th instant. The sortie was rendered partly ineffectual by the defection, either from fear or from treachery, of the few native troops he led out. While returning he was closely followed by a large body of rebels, but a mine leading to the position being sprung a large number of the besiegers were blown up. Since the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, the garrison perhaps from a diminution of numbers, has been compelled to abandon the Mucheebhawun and retire upon the Residency, the city at the same time having been partially revaged by the rebels. The latest intelligence as to the state of the garrison is conveyed in the cheering terms we have quoted above, and if the Goorkha aid contributed by Nepal has arrived at Lucknow, its position is really impregnable.

From Delhi, intelligence has been received down to the 26th ultimo. The besieging force had repulsed the mutineers in repeated attempts at sorties, but the final assault had been postponed to the receipt of further reinforcements in men and material. These were in progress, and by the latest accounts had arrived at Kurnaul. The country westward from Delhi has been quieted and that city may be now taken as the westernmost point of the disturbed territory.

From the south it is reported that the province of Nagpore is quiet. Most of the troops can be depended upon, and the influence of the rebels is small. Indore and Mhow are in the hands of the insurgents. The Maharajah Holkar, weakened as he is by the defection of a large part of his forces, is striving at the former place to re-establish order and organize a fresh army. His loyal attachment to the British government cannot be a matter of surprise to those who know that in knowledge and intelligence he is superior to the members of most European royal families. The Bombay force which is to clear the southern parts of the disturbed territory is collecting rapidly and portions of it have already advanced considerably. The Maharajah Scindiah of Gwalior,

disregarding all the dangers which a factious court and a mutinous soldiery have placed in the way of his performing the duties of a faithful ally to the British government, is engaged in putting his state in order and in deriving plans for frustrating the purposes of his unfaithful armies. Perhaps, the most cheering intelligence of the week is the complete dispersion of the fears which preceding events had given rise to, that the Mahratta power which defied Aurangzebe and gave battle to Lord Ellenborough only the other day would range itself in hostility to the British government in India.

The spirit of rebellion had raised its head—but to be scorched only—at places reckoned by official courtesy among the cities of Bengal proper. The affair at Monghyr seems to be of a mysterious nature. The letter was intercepted at the post office purporting to be from one Hadjee Ahmed, a merchant of the place, to the Foujdarry Nazir of Patna, Ally Hossain Khan. It acknowledges receipts of money for seditious purposes, and states that 1400 men will be ready on Buckreed (3d August) at the hour of prayer, to rise and massacre the European inhabitants. A Vakeel of the civil court, Moonshee Zukkeeodeen, appears to be implicated in the plot, and he and the Hadjee have both been taken up. The emirate at Patna, which was promptly put down, seems to have been planned with the same purpose of massacring the European inhabitants and proclaiming the authority of the King of Delhi. A few particulars of the affair will be found in another column.

The week has brought confirmation of the melancholy intelligence that all those who on the occurrence of the mutiny at Cawnpore had taken shelter in the intrenched position constructed by Sir H. M. Wheeler have fallen victims to the cruel treachery of the Nana Sahib. It seems that, after massacring the greater number of those who relying upon the Sahib's plighted faith had taken their passage on boats for Allahabad, he kept as prisoners the remainder of the party, consisting chiefly of women and children. But when he found that Cawnpore was no large tenable, and that

flight was his only resource from destruction, he murdered the unfortunate refugees without exception. Vengeance will, we entertain no doubt, overtake the foul miscreant, though its measure will fall short of just retribution.

The week has also disclosed some few facts in connection with the prospects of the mutineers calculated to divert attention from the most painful features of the occurrences of the times. Major Erskine writes from Jubbulpore that the 31st N. I. and 40 men of the 3rd Irregular Cavalry attacked the mutiniers of the 42nd and some Irregular Cavalry on the 7th instant under their native officers, not one of the European officers being present, and routed them with severe loss. A statement is also made upon the authority of a private communication, that the 10 N. I. at Futtigurh met the 41 N. I. which attacked the local treasury and routed them with slaughter. These facts, if they show nothing else, show that there is still loyalty to be found in the ranks of the Sepoy army, or that dissension is in the enemy's camp. The offer of the 58th N. I. at Peshawur to be led against the rebels is liable only to the suspicion raised by the treachery of the 6th N. I. The Hill Chiefs of the Punjab have placed their services at the disposal of government. The troops of the Rajah of Bikaner have joined the force under General van Cortlandt who is keeping the peace in the Hissar district. But the most gratifying fact of the week is the arrival of H. M.'s 90 Foot in the steamship "Himalaya", which arrived in port her precious freight on Tuesday. This regiment, as our readers are aware, formed a portion of the force destined for operations in China. The arrival of the "Himalaya" promises a speedy addition to the European force in the country of three more regiments which are on their way from England to the East. The accession of these troops to the army in Bengal will enable government to prosecute with vigour the plan laid down for clearing the country of rebels ; and by the time they finish the greater portion of that work, the royal army will have placed at the disposal of the Indian government an amount of military

force sufficient to quell every spark of armed resistance to its authority.

23 July 1857

THE MUTINIES

The spirit of insurrection outstrips the pursuing genius of vengeance. The former is rapidly enveloping town after town and district after district in the flame of revolt, while the latter slowly proceeds rescuing one place after another from the destructive element.

At Banda, the Nawab's troops with the regular infantry mutinied on the 14th June, but the officers were saved by the Nawab. At Shahjehanpore and Bareilly and other places in Rohilkund the Europeans were set upon, and it is apprehended that many of them have been killed. At Jhansi and Hissar, the revolters have cut up almost all the Europeans. At Goruckpore the troops mutinied on the 8th, the officers however are safe. Nor are the troops of allied princes to be much depended upon. The Nizam's troops at Aurangabad are in mutiny. Some troops levied at Bhurtpore revolted while being taken to act against the revolted Malwa contingent. At Jubbulpore the 52d N. I. was in a state of insubordination. They have sent out picquets of their own to guard the passages of the town, and threaten to revolt, if any European troops are sent to disarm them.

The terrible scenes enacted at some of the stations where mutinies previously occurred, and whence accounts still continue to reach us, have, however, not been repeated in those we have mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. In some places the precautionary measures taken have yet succeeded in keeping down open insurrection, and at others it has been rendered a moral impossibility. There is a disposition at Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizam's territories, in the Mussulman population to raise the standard of revolt against the British power; but the energetic conduct and judicious

measures of the minister Salar Jung has hitherto kept it down from working mischief. The much-abused Arab troops of the Nizam have done good service in this emergency. The men of the 64th N. I. and 5th Cavalry have been disarmed. The district of Bolundshuhur has been quieted by the Sirmoor Battalion. The statement once before put forth about the 10th N. I. at Futtygurh having revolted appears at least to require confirmation. The Irregular Cavalry at Nagpore have been disarmed, and the town is represented by the latest accounts to be quiet.

None of the European inhabitants at Cawnpore have, it is stated, lost their lives, they having taken timely shelter in the intrenched position constructed there. They now stand a regular blockade. But a subsequent event that has occurred in the vicinity of that town has more than filled up the measure of suffering eluded in the course of the mutiny of the Cawnpore troops. A hundred and thirty-two European fugitives—men, women and children—were proceeding down the river from Futtyghur towards Allahabad, when, on arrival at Bithoor, the Nana Saheb (by whom is meant, we believe, some relative of the late Bajee Row Peishwa) fired on them with the artillery the Government allowed him to keep. The boats were then boarded and the passengers landed and dragged to the parade ground in Cawnpore where they were first fired at and then hacked to pieces with swords. Every assault hitherto made on the entrenched position occupied by General Wheeler, however, has been repulsed, and as he is furnished with food for some days and plenty of ammunition, he is certain to have held out till Colonel Macneile's detachment of European infantry and guns reached him. This detachment is roundly estimated at 550 men, and with the companies of the 32d Foot previously at the station will certainly clear the town and its vicinity of the rebels, before General Havelock's column marches up. Sir Henry Lawrence still holds Lucknow, and feels himself strong enough to defy the rebels triumphantly from his position, until the arrival of aid enables him to chastise them in the province.

The non-arrival of any authentic intelligence respecting the

fall of Delhi had filled with doubts the minds of many who calculating the probabilities of the case and adding thereto the various reports from independent quarters of the recapture of the town had satisfied themselves that the stronghold of the rebels had been destroyed. Ugly rumours moreover prevailed in town of a repulse if not a defeat having been sustained by Sir Henry Bernard's force in an assault. The following intelligence however, was received by government on Tuesday : It is a paragraph from a Bombay journal transmitted by electric telegraph from Nagpore ;

"We have just received private letters from Ajmere confirming the intelligence we gave some days ago regarding the fall of Delhi. I am glad to inform you, says our correspondent, the Delhi is at last in our possession. Mutineers fought like fiends contending for every inch of ground with unquestionable valor, they were however between on every side until they found themselves compelled to seek for safety in the palace, this refuge, however, did not serve them long, they were driven out with great slaughter, upwards of 7000 of the scoundrels have been slain. The whole city is in our possession."

Little doubt, after this, can be entertained as to the destruction of the stronghold of Sepoy rebellion. The intelligence of Delhi's fall will operate on the minds of the disaffected like a spell. From every side they looked to the ancient capital of India as whence sunk the sun of Mogul supremacy. The destruction of the capital will dissipate these visions of glory and resuscitated dominion. The Indian mind will soon resettle into the quiet from which it has seen so rudely shaken out by these untowards events ; and the miseries of the nation will find an end in the termination of seditious hopes.

2 July 1857

YOUNG BENGAL'S VIEW OF THE MUTINIES

(Correspondence)

To the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot.

Sir,

It was only last night that I saw your issue of the 11th Instant in which you do me the honour of noticing a letter I sent to the Editor of the Friend of India on the view which, I conceive, Young Bengal takes of the mutinies. I am glad to find you say that the view substantially agrees with the one you yourself lately put forth, though I have not had the pleasure of seeing it.

But though you substantially agree with me, you say that there is "a little exaggeration in my tone and style" as you have not been pleased to show where that exaggeration has manifested itself. I can make nothing of your vague expressions. From one only of my opinions you dissent. Though I did not say in so many words, yet it could certainly be inferred from the tenor of my letter that I thought no educated native can feel a cordial attachment to the British Government. Well, I confess that was the feeling uppermost in my mind when I indited my letter to the Friend, and is my opinion still, your averments to the contrary notwithstanding. The question is not whether I individually am cordially attached, as brother Jonathan would say, to the British Government. The question is not whether you—the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot, or certain other educated natives enjoying the "loaves and fishes" of Government service are heartily attached to the existing government. But the question is whether the great majority of educated natives entertain that cordiality of attachment to the British Government for which you give them credit. I have no hesitation in replying that they do not. Make the experiment. Call together in your editorial "room, of state" at Bhowanipore one hundred educated natives and put to them, the question "Are you conscious of a cordial attachment to the British Government, or are you not?" My idea is that ninety nine out of the supposed one hundred would answer they were not.

They might confess of an interested attachment to the government, but not to that chivalrous and hearty sense of loyalty which characterizes the Frenchman above all other people. They would very likely tell you, "Mr. Patriot, we do not love the government *con amore*. Disinterested love to British rule is not our sentiment. We prefer it to any other government, simply because, under existing circumstances, we know of no better government." Young Bengal bears the load it is true—but he kicks your assertion that Hindoos of all ages have been characterized by a "dynastic attachment to the defacto sovereign of the country", is nothing to the point. The Hindoo of the time of Akber is quite different from the educated Bengali. The Hindoo of olden times was not read like his highly favoured descendant, in the story of Grecian and Roman liberty. The days of the prevalence of the legitimist feeling have been numbered. A little while and there will be no Asian mystery to solve. But I am perhaps fighting a mere man of straw. You seem after all to be of the same opinion with me though you say you dissent from it. You write, "who can say that freer intercourse between natives and Europeans, the more frequent resort of educated natives of England—until the tour becomes the fashion, and the grant of titles and other honorary rewards by the sovereign direct, may not engender a feeling as deep, as pure, and as warm as was ever borne to Akber or any of his successors?" From which well-rounded period, I infer that it is your opinion, educated natives at present do not feel a cordial attachment to the government. Don't you virtually give up your point so much for the fact of cordiality.

It is a different question, however, whether it is possible for the educated natives to be inspired with a sense of hearty and disinterested loyalty to the British Government. You say it is possible. I cannot agree with you. With the map of human nature and the history of the world unrolled before me I cannot believe that time will bring on such a desirable result. You seem to be well read in history; can you direct me to a single case confirmatory of your position? For my-

self I search in vain in the annals of the nations for a solitary instance of the gradual growth of amity and concord between the conquerors and the conquered inhabitants of a country—especially when the latter are making, as in the present case, rapid advances in intelligence and civilization.

Your remarks on the loyalty of the educated natives being impeached on the score of their dissatisfaction with the present state of things do not affect me, as I do not remember having questioned their loyalty on that ground.

I quite agree with you in your estimate of the important position which Young Bengal is destined, at no distant time, to occupy. I believe he has a noble mission to fulfil.

June 19th, 1857.

A LOYAL BENGALI

25 July 1857

THE REBELLION

The history of the rebellion has been varied in the past week by a mutiny of some importance. The three regiments of native infantry at Dinapore, unable any longer to resist the infection, have succumbed to it. The event was long expected and adequate precautions had been made to meet it. Nearly a full regiment of European infantry and a battery manned by European artillery were stationed at the place; and they had been probably strengthened by large detachments of European infantry before the mutiny broke out. Particulars have not been yet received, but it is believed that the mutiniers have been unable to inflict any great loss upon the cantonments or to destroy many lives. The battery was one not fitted to move with celerity for want of adequate horse draft, yet there is little doubt that the pursuit after the mutiniers has been prompt and to some degree effective. They are, it is said, now on the banks of the Soane, which at this season of the year swells itself to a broad, deep and rapid stream. They are waiting for means to cross:—they might as well wait for the waters to flow out till the channel

is dry. It might have been for worse if they had marched upon Patna or Gya ; but we believe the feeling of isolation, which criminals abhor more than punishment prevailed, and they directed their eyes towards the seat of rebellion beyond Cawnpore. Before, however, they reach Benares, we hope to learn of their being met in front and rear by flying columns detached from that city and Dinapore. It is satisfactory to think that the relations of our government with Nepal are now upon a satisfactory footing, and it is believed that the Foreign Secretary himself is charged with a mission to the court of Katmandoo to improve and draw still closer those relations.

The latest accounts from General Havelock's force describes his movements as directed towards Lucknow. Nearly all the troops had crossed, and the remainder with the necessary material was being rapidly taken over. Too much importance cannot be attached to the movements of this force. It has already cleared a large extent of territory, and it is to divide with the Delhi force the task and honor of recovering the remainder of Upper India. The question now has arisen—with what object is General Havelock's force to march into Oude—whether merely to rescue the garrison of Lucknow and the European refugees to be found there and in adjacent localities, or to resubjugate the province ? We have no hesitation to affirm that the former under present circumstances appears the preferable course. The province of Oude may, for the present, be left to the anarchy if loves so much. There is but one countervailing consideration. To leave Lucknow might be to throw into extreme danger the few men of rank and power who have hitherto exerted themselves loyally in behalf of the British Government. But greater interests are at stake, and these individuals must for the present be left to their own resources. Besides in the very operation of marching to Lucknow and returning from it, the rebels might be dealt with in a manner to effect their total dispersion. At any rate the call from Agra is much more emergent. With Cawnpore strongly garrisoned, General Havelock's march is little likely to be deterred by attacks in the rear.

The latest news from Delhi extends to the 7th instant. It has been received via Benares, the Commissioner of which place has been informed that the rebels had fallen short of ammunition, and the city was expected to fall in a few days. The rebels were fighting with an energy which would have done honor to a better cause. The combat of the 23rd June is particularly described as exceeding in duration and obstinacy every previous engagement. The besiegers, however, have succeeded in repelling every attack from the besieged. The rebel garrison has on the one hand been strengthened by the Nusseerabad troops, but on the other lost by defection the 9th N.I. and some other regiments which had previously joined it. It is said that the rebels permit no body of mutiniers to join them until they prove their earnestness by attacking the besieging force, and fire upon those who desert the doomed city.

The news from the Saugor and Nerbudda territories is reported by the same authority to be good. The Gwalior troops are said to be occupying that place, and no immediate movement on their part is considered to be likely. The fort of Agra still holds out, and even the city is described to be at the complete command of the garrison. The mutiniers who invested it have gone to Muttra for want of heavy guns in order to attack the fort of Agra. The garrison has plenty of ammunition and provisions for more than six months. The moveable column from the Bombay side was enroute towards Mhow.

The intelligence of the mutiny at Dinapore, followed by very sinister, and but too probable, news from Berhampore has inspired considerable apprehensions in the minds of people here respecting the tranquillity of Bengal. The manifestation of seditious conduct among the Nujeebs attached to the Dacoity commission at Jessore, followed by some executions, has served to deepen the feeling. But the arrival of fresh European troops, and the official announcement that six regiments of infantry and cavalry are already on their way from England having embarked early in June, is calculated to reassure the most nervous.

THE DISARMING QUESTION

But for the inconsiderate violence of a class of their fellow-citizens, the inhabitants of Calcutta would hardly have known the evils of living in the neighbourhood of insurrection. The scene of disturbances is sufficiently distant from them not to give them any real cause for alarm. They themselves never dream of rebellings and from what they know of the most ill affected among them they apprehend no danger. But the class we have mentioned will allow them no rest, no peace. The disarming of the native troops near the metropolis was a measure rendered as much necessary by the clamours of this class as by the aspect of circumstances. The volunteer guards constituted themselves the defenders of Calcutta and the overseers of its peaceful population without even deigning to ask the permission of the public authorities. By their language and behaviour, in public and in private, they have contributed to keep up social irritation to a degree incompatible with the maintenance of order. The feverish excitement into which they have thrown themselves they would communicate to every order of society. They seem almost to regret that there is not a rebellion in Calcutta. They are beside themselves if you but hint to them that the Mahomedans of Calcutta do not intend to "rise", or that the Bengalee baboos are ignorant altogether of that mode of gesticulation, or that the Government is strong or wise enough to protect its authority and the safety of the inhabitants, or that the police is equal to its duties. Their organs are but in their imaginations, and speaking of collections of arms and treasonable papers which nobody else can find. They even mildly suggest that Calcutta be placed under martial law. It is this class which finding every other means of creating a break in the peace of the city exhausted and useless, has after all taken up the idea of compelling Government to disarm the native inhabitants, and in the execution of that process to insult and drive to some acts of questionable legality the more exciteable portion of them.

The idea has been pressed with considerable activity and all the force a very limited but influential class is master of. The Grand Jury at the last sessions made the following presentment : and we were surprised to learn that the judges of the Supreme Court did not hesitate to send up the matter to Government.

At the sessions of the peace of our lady, the Queen Golden at Calcutta on the 18th day of July, in the year 1857.

The Grand Jury present as follows :

"That as a measure to allay apprehensions of danger on the part of the public, and for the preservation of peace and the prevention of crime, (especially as the Mahomedan Holidays, which are approaching, are usually a period of excitement) it is desirable that the native population of Calcutta and of the suburbs should be disarmed, and that the sale of arms and ammunition should be prohibited except under such restrictions as Government may deem advisable.

Therefore, the Grand Jury do hereby request Her Majesty's Justices, to lay this their presentment before Government, and to move the Government to take the same into its favourable consideration.

(Sd.) J. H. FERGUSSON
Foreman."

The privilege of making presentments is the most valuable of those attached to the office of Grand Juries, and it is always exercised with the utmost caution and dignity. But whatever be the nature of this privilege we never knew that it was to be exercised except for purposes connected with the administration of justice and within the competence of the court addressed to forward. If presentments were to be made on all sorts of questions that occupy public attention, we see no reason why a Grand Jury should not canvas the treaty with Japan or the terms offered by the Bengal Government to Sunderbuns grantees. If there is a time for all things, there is also a place for all things. It was not the first tribunal in India where encouragement should have been given to the nation that any one class of Her Majesty's subjects were to

be deprived of rights enjoyed by another. The judges of Her Majesty's Supreme Court, however, allowed themselves to be mixed up in the unseemly dispute, and forwarded, as far as in them lay, the objectionable purpose of the Grand Jurors. The reply given by Government we insert, without a comment upon the quiet but keen satire it conveys upon a weakness which certainly is not of the amiable kind.

FROM CECIL BEADON, ESQ., Secy. to the Govt. of India.
TO H. HOLROYD, ESQ., Clerk of the Crown.

Dated the 25th July, 1857.

SIR,—I have had the honor to receive and lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, Home Department, your letter of the 22nd instant transmitting by direction of the Honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court a presentment made by the Grand Jury recommending that the native population of Calcutta and the suburbs should be disarmed, and that the unrestricted sale of arms and ammunition should be prohibited. The measure is proposed with a view to allay apprehensions of danger on the part of the public to preserve the peace, to prevent crime, with reference especially, to the approaching Mahomedan holidays, which are usually a period of excitement.

2. To this subject which has been pressed on his attention from other quarters, the Governor General in Council has given his most careful consideration and he is of opinion that the important object the Grand Jury have in view can be more securely provided for by another means.

3. The places in Calcutta where arms are to be had and the quantity in store are known to the Government and the Grand Jury may be assured that effectual measures will be taken to prevent any of them being used by evil disposed persons for purposes of mischief.

4. Strong parties of Europeans and soldiers from one of the Regiments now arriving in Calcutta will be posted in the town, and every other precaution that the occasion requires will be taken to prevent the possibility of outbreak in Calcutta.

or its vicinity, during the approaching Mahomedon festivals.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
your most obedient servant,

CECIL BEADON

Secy. to the Govt. of India.

Council Chamber, 25th July, 1857."

We can conceive the extent of the dissatisfaction which this letter has caused among many really well intentioned men and earnest friends of order. But they must recollect that some consideration was due to the feelings of the majority of a population which during a whole century has not given one single cause of offence. They may not be disposed to give their native fellow citizens credit either for loyalty or love of peace. But they will not deny that the greater number of the native inhabitants of Calcutta have as much reason to dread the consequences of a riotous or a fanatic outbreak as any European resident. They are not accustomed, on other occasions, to impute to the natives of Bengal a slowness of perception in matters affecting their worldly interests. They can believe, if they choose, that the Bengalees of Calcutta would not have their heads particularly safe on their shoulders or their property in their houses if a rising took place of the nature apprehended. They can believe too that the Bengalees of Calcutta would have been the first to call for measures of security if they had seen the least prospect of danger. If, with no strained liberality, they would but apply to their native fellow citizens the rule they have prescribed to themselves, namely, that every man should in times of danger provide for the defence of his hearth and home, they would not be so anxious to deprive the latter of their means of protection.

But have the class whose organ the Grand Jury was on the occasion considered at all how far the measure they recommend was a practicable one? Suppose the edict went forth that the native population of Calcutta and within ten miles of it were to be deprived of their arms, how was the process of disarming to be carried out? Government, even under the

pressure of a Grand Jury's recommendation, would hardly have gone the length of authorizing a universal search of houses. At the risk of disappointing the junior members of the volunteer guards it would have hesitated before it allowed parties of Christians and policemen to inspect Hindoo Poojah-rooms, and Mahomedan Zenanas. The most it could do was to demand a surrender of arms, affixing a heavy penalty to any evasion of the call. Now, by the supposition of the case, there are a large number of persons in and about Calcutta who are disaffected towards Government, who intend to keep their arms for use against the Government and the Christian inhabitants on some given day, and who consequently are prepared to incur greater risks than any disarming law will annex to the offence of concealing arms. The effect of the proposed measure will thus be that, while all the respectable and the well-affected will be deprived of an efficient means of self-defence, the ill-affected and the riotously disposed will be left in possession of their means of offence.

We are now informed that the executive Government purpose introducing a bill in the Legislative Council to enforce the registration of arms and to prohibit the possession of them except under certain restrictions. This measure is, of course, undertaken to show that something is being done to "allay apprehensions of danger on the part of the public". It may be the most innocuous of the many plans suggested on the present occasion. It may be turned into an instrument of as much annoyance as a law authorizing the search of houses for arms. Whatever be the course adopted we trust that the execution of the measure may be entrusted to hands accustomed to the responsible discharge of such delicate tasks.

30 July 1857

THE REBELLION

Not a province where the Hindoostanee language is spoken seems destined to escape the perils and sufferings of rebellion.

The districts which compose the ancient Subah of Behar, and which hitherto had manifested their excitement by an increase of crimes of violence and the silly efforts of imbecile rebels are now the seat of an organized insurrection. The mutiniers of Dinapore have found a political head in a broken grandee who has proclaimed himself sovereign of the province. His followers are a rabble, despicable in every respect but that of numbers. They are likely to be joined by the 12th Irregular Cavalry, the 25th N. I. and 65 N. I. The first of these regiments killed a commandant who, if any man deserved the affections of another deserved theirs. Major Holmes felt for his men more even than a parent for his children. He has been requited with death and the destruction of his family. There is glory in such self-sacrifice — equal to any that can be earned on the field of battle. Baseness such as the 12th Irregular Cavalry have displayed is not explainable on the ordinary principles of human nature.

It is not yet ascertained what will be the first movements of this new band of rebels. Probably they will attack Patna first, where there are enough both of plunder and sympathy. That city we hope is well-guarded. But the best provision yet made for its safety seems to us to be the appointment of the person who under the unassuming title of a Commissioner proceeds to recover the province for the British Government. If supported by a military force barely sufficient for the purpose, we have no doubt Mr. Samuells will tranquilise the districts placed under his care before Oude is retaken or Agra rescued.

The intelligence from General Havelock's force is cheering. The latest accounts from his camp are dated the 30th ultimo. He had met the enemy again successively at two places named Oonao and Bussuntunge. At both places he routed the enemy, consisting of the Lucknow mutiniers and Nana Saheb's force, with severe loss, and captured their guns. General Havelock is probably now at Lucknow. We need not repeat our speculations as to his future movements.

The news from Delhi extends to the 4th ultimo. The city had not been taken, but an advance was made in its vicinity. The rebels have had a large accession of force in the Bareilly

mutiniers, and the besieging force is incessantly attacked both from front and the rear. They are invariably beaten back. The fact of the Bareilly mutiniers having effected a junction with the rebels in Delhi in the very sight of a considerable British force and across a broad stream will probably form a subject of enquiry, but the evil is done. It is time the final assault should take place.

Large numbers of Seikh soldiers are being embodied in the Punjab and the Cis-Sutlej territories and despatched towards Delhi, the country between which and the Sutlej is gradually being reduced to order.

6 August 1857

TERRORISM IN BENGAL

The Governor General has by a notification in the official Gazette extended the operation of Act No. 16 of the present year, which provides for the summary trial of persons charged with the commission of heinous offences, to Bengal. We confess we fail to see the necessity of the measure, though not the consequences which are sure to come out of it. There is indeed rebellion raging in districts officially annexed to Bengal, but the most inveterate redtaper will not contend that the same treatment is needed for Bengalees and Beharees. Martial law has been proclaimed in those districts, and the functions of the ordinary courts are suspended. The most senseless alarmist will not pretend that the people speaking the Bengalee language and numbering thirty millions of British subjects are disposed to rebel or that crimes of violence have increased in consequence of the rebellion rampant in their neighbourhood. On the contrary, if there ever was a time when the people of Bengal deserved to receive at the hands of their government some mark of special favour, it is the present, when every order of Bengalees views with sorrow the sufferings caused by the rebellion and with indignation the crimes of the rebels. It will not do to say

that the present measure will affect the guilty alone. It is of the essence of coercionary laws of the character of the one under which we are now put that, in the administration, promptitude of action should be preferred to fulness of deliberation. The form of law which compel a tribunal to hear patiently and judge discriminatingly are swept away, not without largely increasing the chances of misdecision, and misdecision specially on the side of vigour. Under any circumstances, much oppression and some injustice are sure to follow the active operation of such laws. But in the peculiar circumstances of this country, these evils are likely to assume extraordinary proportions.

Let our readers imagine whether anything can be more likely to occur now than the case we shall put down. It is sowing season,—both with paddy and indigo.* A quarrel ensues between those who have sown a piece of land with paddy and those who would sow it with indigo seed. The factory is near. The number of ryots assemble to oppose the factory khalasies and lattyals. The factory gomasta, a clever man, sets fire to a thatched outhouse of the factory. The ryots are charged with arson. The extra police force entertained for the occasion had been brought into the factory the preceding evening on a representation that the villagers of the locality intended to “rise”. The loyalty of the assistant at the factory is undoubted. His right to command the extra police force in the Magistrate’s absence is as indisputable as that of the Prince of Wales to succeed his regnant parent. The Assistant, moreover, knows where his enemies live. They are taken up. The Joint Magistrate, acting as Commissioner under Act 16 of 1857, and having the fear of a “gagged” press, an alarmed “public”, and the Indigo Planters’ Association before his eyes and himself not unsuspicious of native loyalty, at least consigns the ryots to a secure dwelling in the jails for seven years.

A case perhaps equally possible is the following. You fall out with the Police Darogah. You are reported for seditious conduct at some place where two of the Darogah’s

witnesses swear to have been present. You are tried and ordered to be "strung up". You may escape providentially, but by no meaner agency.

The last is a case which, if our information be correct, has occurred at Allahabad. The first is one of many which will occur in the district of Baraset in a few weeks.

The government of India may not retract what it has said. It remains for the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to order matters so as to render the measure as innocuous as it possibly can be. Were we permitted to offer a suggestion, we would beg that powers be given for holding a summary trial under the late acts only for the offences of overt treason and mutiny, and that other offences, however heinous, be left to be tried by the ordinary tribunals; also, that no judicial officer, of lower standing than the civil and sessions judge, be entrusted with the judicial administration of the recently passed coercion laws.

The Registration of Arms Bill introduced by Mr. Dorin is a product of the cry raised by our European fellow-citizens in utter misconception of their own interests. It is a law from which we, natives of India will not alone suffer. If allowed to pass, its operation will not be limited to the two years proposed by its honorable movers. It will be too good a thing to be given up by men in power after it has once been enjoyed by them. An indigo factory can less afford to dispense with arms than a zemindary cutchery. We congratulate our friends of the Mufussil police on the bright prospects which this law, with its creation of spies, informers and novel offences opens to them.

Our legislators will, we hope, at least see the necessity or specifically excepting ploughshares and pruning knives from the list of dangerous arms putting the British Indian government, in danger.

6 August 1857

THE REBELLION

The week has been one of unmitigated panic in the metropolis. The spread of the Dinapore mutiniers and the Behar rebels and the revolt of the Ramghur Battalion have disturbed the country to within two hundred miles of Calcutta. Rumours were circulated of the Berhampore troops having recovered their arms and being on their way down to join their comrades at Barrackpore, and of the Shekawatee Battalion at Midnapore having mutinied and spread themselves about the railway terminus at Raneeunge. With these sinister reports afloat is not matter for surprise that the citizens of Calcutta should have wrought themselves to a considerable degree of alarm and excitement. The fact, however, is that the Shekawatee Battalion is still under the command of its veteran colonel; there are no arms at Berhampore to be recovered by the native troops, who are merely a little sulky at their having been deprived of their arms and horses; and there is at this moment no rebel with a weapon in hand within two hundred and fifty miles of Calcutta.

Progress, though rather slow, is being made to chase the rebels in Behar. Patna is safe, the Europeans at Arrah and the treasure at Gya have been rescued and Hazareebaugh has been abandoned by the mutiniers. The defence of Arrah by a few Europeans and Seikhs against a host of the rebels, and their subsequent rescue by a detachment of European troops from Dinapore are extremely creditable affairs, counterbalancing the mishap that occurred previously in the course of the operations against the rebels in this part of the country. The story of the mishap is a simple one. A detachment of about three hundred Europeans and a hundred Seikhs was sent from Dinapore towards Arrah to bring away the European inhabitants at that station who were besieged and in imminent danger. The detachment landed on the afternoon of the 28th, and continued to march after night fall, when on arriving at the bridge of Arrah about eleven miles from the town, they were allowed to advance until they were led fairly into an

ambuscade, when four thick volleys of musquetry were poured into them from slopes on both sides. A great number of the officers and men fell a panic naturally ensued. The remainder of the detachment retreated to their ship, and was closely followed by overwhelming numbers of the rebels armed with field ordnance. More than a hundred were killed, and very few of the survivors escaped without a wound. The expedition for the same purpose which afterwards met with such signal success is narrated in a few words. The besieged, and especially the Seikh's, "fought like heroes", until succour arrived, and they fought their way out to the ships.

Intelligence from General Havelock's force dates to the 4th instant when, after having deposited his sick and wounded and the captured ordnance at a place within five miles of Cawnpore, he was preparing to march against the rebels posted a little above at Nabobgunge. The force with General Havelock is not large enough, we fear, to meet the enemy if they attack him collectively, nor is Cawnpore in a position to afford large reinforcements. But troops are rapidly being conveyed up.

After a long period intelligence was received last week from Agra. It extends to the 16th ultimo. On that date the city was in the hands of the mutiniers, but the fort was occupied by the authorities with the troops and volunteers. A large number of European and other Christian families are in the fort. Admirable arrangements had been made for a defence, and the strictest regulations were being enforced to prevent epidemics, and to economise the expenditure of provisions. Useless cattle have been sent out, and it is believed that the garrison can hold out for some weeks. No fresh intelligence has been received from Delhi, or from Central India.

During the past week a large number of troops have come up from the straits and Madras. Lord Elgin has brought up with him a portion of the force destined for operations in China and further reinforcements from the same source have come in. The total of the reinforcement of Europeans received within the last week amounts in round numbers to two thousand.

THE POLICY OF THE FUTURE

The last mail conveyed to England a petition of the British and Christian inhabitants of Calcutta praying for organic changes in the constitution and policy of the British government in India; and a gentleman of considerable ability, who is animated by a personal grievance of his own, has accompanied the petition, the objects which he is charged to promote by every means in his power. The petition was got up somewhat in secret—that is, it was kept studiously concealed from the sight of all but the few hundreds who were to sign it. Even the newspapers published for circulation in the country have not been permitted to make mention prominent of it. Nevertheless, enough of its contents have transpired to afford matter for criticism. The petitioners roundly allege that the present system of Indian government has utterly failed—and failed in consequence of its close analogy to a constitutional system of government. They therefore pray for the establishment of a military despotism in its stead. They deprecate all checks upon the conduct of the head of the government, and they propose accordingly the annihilation of the local councils and the court of Directors. The disuse of the name of the East India Company, the change in the designation of the Indian minister, the abolition of the civil service as a distinct body or estate in the realm, are necessary consequences of the scheme they propound. The natives of the country are to be deprived of all liberty of thought and speech. They are to be devoid of all political privileges and the spread of knowledge among them is to be discouraged. Finally, the European residents in the country are to continue in the exclusive enjoyment of the little atmosphere of licentious liberty in which they move. These views are enlivened with frequent allusions to persons and passing events. The whole document, we are informed, forms as piquant a piece of reading as anything that has emanated from the class whose sentiments it conveys since Mr. Theodore Dickens undertook the cause of British-Indian liberty.

The Petition is in one respect well-timed. It will reach

England at a time when the interest in India affairs will have attained its culminating point in England, and a large portion of the British public will be particularly well-disposed to listen to suggestions of the nature described. It will enlist the sympathies of a large number of Indian reformers. It will appeal with incendiary effect to the passions of the British people, already roused by the tales of violence and massacre which have reached them in continued stream during the last few months. But will all these advantages be in their favour, the Petitioners, we object. The more thoughtful among British politicians will not hastily condemn a system which has reared a substantial fabric of empire out of chronic anarchy ; which has initiated progress in regions where the term was unknown ; which accords in a great measure with the great principles of the British constitution ; and under which, while a formidable rebellion rages through the length and breadth of the land, fears are not permitted to a rise as to the stability of the existing rule. Such men are aware that (to borrow the language of one of their organs) the perils of the present day have been incurred ever since Britain had an Indian Empire and that empire a sepoy army. The future policy of the British Indian Government will be directed by this class of politicians, whose influence in all questions of imperial politics is still supreme. Parliament will witness a few debates of a stormy character on the Indian rebellion ; a few meetings will be held at manufacturing towns ; a portion of the press which habitually advocates Gallic and Cossack principles of government will demand an instant abrogation of checks and councils and publicity and all the other machinery of constitutional rule ; but the calm vigour of men of thought and in power will overcome all these influences.

The class which has sent forth the petition has always been apt to over-rate its influence in English political circles. The inordinate consideration which has been paid them by the local government and authorities has led them into the belief that they can equally mould the views or influence the action of the imperial legislature and the imperial ministry. Their past experi-

ence might have taught them, were their conceit less flattered here—less than overweening—how little is the weight attached in England to views unjust, violent, selfish on the very face of them, when opposed to those of responsible statesmen. They have often employed the best talent and used the most powerful interest in Great Britain to secure their ends, but in vain. They must remember that success is not possible to schemes the object of which is to degrade a vast population of British subjects. By detaching their interests from those of the people among whom they dwell, but of whom they will not be, they but expose the extreme insignificance of their own party, and call down suspicion upon their most reasonable claims. When twenty years ago they opposed the enactment of a law-bringing Europeans within the pale of the law in civil matters they omitted no efforts and spared no expense to obtain a repeal of it. They gained nothing by the move, for the preposterous nature of their claim was apparent. When again, twelve years latter, a proposal was made to subject them generally to the tribunals of the land, they succeeded in terrifying the local legislature into a compliance with their wishes ; but all that they or the local legislature did had not a feather's weight in the consideration of the English politicians to whom the same question was five years after referred. They hope for much from certain influential members of Parliament. But they, we believe, will not help them much. One for instance on whom they rely much, Lord Ellenborough, when propounding his plan of legislature in India, proposed that it should be carried forward by a council of officials and a council of Hindoos' exclusiveness which, merely exposes their weakness that the Petitioners can further the security of the British Government in India or the good government of British India. Let them join the people—and they will have the lead—and all that is justly due to British India no British ministry can deny.

13 August 1857

DISCIPLINE AND REVENGE

The acting commander-in-chief of the Bengal army has found it necessary to issue the following General Order :

30th July—The Commander-in-chief calls upon officers commanding forces or detachments employed on field service to repress with the utmost severity all plundering and other excesses on the part of the troops and camp followers.

All such irregularities are destructive of discipline and order, and where they are suffered to exist, the worst consequences must ensue :—the labouring and working classes and the inhabitants of the country generally will be deterred from rendering important assistance in many ways—supplies of carriage, and other essentials will not be provided—and the public services will be injured, and the troops inconvenienced and impeded in their operations.

Such serious evils cannot exist in a well regulated camp or military station, where discipline and strict order are maintained with firmness and judgment.

The powers of the Provost Marshal, under the orders of officers-in-chief command, are ample—extending even to the punishment of death in extreme cases—and they must be strongly exercised and enforced to the full extent if less stringent measures fail.

This order is to be carefully explained to every body, to troops employed on field service, or wherever martial law has been proclaimed.

This order is principally directed to the offence of plundering which in all well-disciplined armies is not permitted in the line of march even through an enemy's country. Whether that degree of discipline exists in the army now proceeding up the country, clearing it of rebels, is a question which we have been tempted of late to ask seriously of our military authorities. The pillage of the town of Allahabad, to which a contemporary has traced, with some show of reason, the subsequent catastrophe at Cawnpore, was committed both by European and Sikh soldiers. The 6th Mutineers contented themselves with killing their

officers and the Europeans they caught. The Pragwallahs and the Mussulman fanatics continued the work of murder and incendiarism ; but it was reserved to the troops entrusted with the protection of life and property in the locality to destroy the stores of provisions which were to supply the remaining inhabitants and the force destined to advance to the relief of the upper stations.

General Grant's order speaks specifically of the offence of plundering. Its spirit is applicable to outrages of other characters. The troops which marched from Benares to Allahabad under the command of General Neill are said to have left traces of exploits similar to those which marked the movement of Marmont's foraging parties and retreating divisions in Spain. We were not surprised at all at the desperate attack of three thousand Rajpoots upon Benares after the mutiny was over in that city. Revenge is sweet, and often just ; but public authority, and military authority especially, ought not to permit it to be executed by irresponsible persons. A Seikh is murdered at Allahabad, the whole regiment of Seikhs is let loose on the town to avenge their comrade. How can discipline resist such tampering with it or survive such licence ?

Our military commanders ought to remember that after the rebellion is over, the country will have to be reoccupied and regoverned. It will not add to the facility or efficiency of the work of administration to have among the people thousands of men brooding over the murder (as they will continue to think it) of innocent relatives or the dishonor of their mothers, sisters and wives. It will not do, in these times, for our generals to combine in their persons the accomplishments of a General Knox and a Judge Jeffries.

13 August 1857



THE MUTINIES (Selection)

From various sources.

On the 31st of July, a peremptory order was received at Gya from the Commissioner of Patna, calling on the officials and the troops then at Gya, consisting of 116 Seikhs and 40 of H. M. 84th for concentration at Dinapore ; (80 men of H. M. 64th having previously left Gya for Benares on the 25th July.)

The road from Gya to Patna being impassable, even for bullock hackeries it was impossible to send the treasure with the troops to Patna. On the evening of the 31st July, the troops, and every European and Christian in Gya, left for Patna, but Mr. A. Money, the Collector and Acting Magistrate of Behar, refused to desert his post, and took upon himself to disobey the express orders of the Commissioner, and to remain in charge at Gya. In this he was most gallantly and bravely aided by Mr. Hollings, the head opium Agent, who volunteered to remain with Mr. Money alone. Those two gentlemen called a meeting of the inhabitants, and offered to take command of any native body to be furnished for the protection of the town, and in that case to hold Gya against all and sundry.

The rich natives, however, after consultaion, decided that their city and person were too sacred for injury to be done them by any native mutineers, and so preferred retiring into the sacred part of the town, and failed to supply any force as required. Messrs. Money and Hollings therefore unaided, except by the Nujeebs, kept charge of Gya alone till the 2nd August when the company of H. M. 64th, which had been recalled by Mr. Money, arrived. On the 3rd instant the state of the country and approach of a large body of mutineers rendered it unadvisable to remain longer at Gya with so small a force, when the inhabitants refused to assist in its protection ; and the treasure being loaded in the carriages in which the 64th had returned to Gya, the small party deserted the town marching by Dobay to the Grand Trunk Road.

About 5 miles from Gya they were attacked by the Nujeeb Guard, and the released prisoners from jail and others, whom

they repulsed after shooting five of them. On arriving at Dobay, 18 miles from Gya, Mr. Money dispatched a runner to Raneegunge, informing Government of his movements and asking for help. Government is said to have forwarded orders, along the Trunk Road for the Sikh police to form and march to the relief of the small party with the treasure and it is to be hoped that the measures of relief, proposed in the HARKARU of Friday, have also been adopted.

The following is from Bundlecund, dated the 29th ultimo :—
“A letter from Mirzapore mentioned a report that Mr. Calvin had released all the prisoners, four thousand, at Agra, whom he was unable to guard, and that they had sallied out and attacked the rebels twice and driven them away to Maltuna. A capital business if correct ; the men I conclude were promised pardon conditionally upon their conduct, and which would give him four thousand additional fighting men.

“The news here is that our troops have taken fifty-four lakhs of Rupees at Bhattor, and that Ram Lall Deputy Collector in the Service of the Nana, had been hanged.”

The following is an extract from Julpigoree, dated 31st July :—

“You were very nearly losing some of your friends here a few days ago. We discovered a villainous plot arranged by a few men of murder the officers and cross over the Bhootan ; but the main body of the Regiment behaved well, seiged and confined in their own guards their rascally comrades, saw them fettered, and escorted them off without a word of sympathy. We fear nothing like a general rise or mutiny here now, though we have had an anxious time of it.”

Mount Aboo 15th July, 1857. “Capital news has just come in from Bhurtpore in a letter from Bholanath Doss, the Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the Dispensary there. He says, writing on the 7th, there was a hard fight yesterday ; the rebels were entirely defeated and about one thousand of them slain. They have fled in the direction of Muttra almost without ammunition. They will most likely make for Delhi. They were the Neemuch mutineers who had burnt Agra Cantonments, and

must have been attacked by the Europeans from Agra Fort with the result above mentoined. May this be turning point which leads on from victory to victory. Lots of themselves knocking about."

Mr. Samuells, who was for many years at Patna in different official capacities, is well acquainted with the nature and disposition of the people of Patna who had represented to him the grievances they are now subjected to by the proclamation of the Martial Law there, and hanging in numbers of the residents there. The letter which was written in Persian characters was read out in the Court at the direction of Mr. Samuells by a Mookter of the Court, and it requested Mr. Samuells, that, knowing as he does of the character and disposition of the inhabitants as loyal subjects of Government, the law in question has been found to operate prejudicially to their reputation, he should exert on their behalf to suspend the enforcement of the law, and Mr. Samuells, we hear, intimated his desire of acceding to their proposition as requested, and hence, I suppose, Government has appointed him as Commissioner of Patna, vice Mr. Tayler, who has got the notoriety of being known, as the hanging Commissioner.

The Dinapore Artillery are reported to have destroyed upwards of five hundred of the Sepoys who were passing down the Ganges in boats. Five large boats were entirely destroyed. The Artillery was on the river bank masked.

13 August 1857

AN ADDRESS TO LORD CANNING

(Correspondence)

To the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot.

DEAR SIR,—

The insertion of the following lines in the columns of your much esteemed journal, will highly oblige the undersigned.

MY LORD,—

There is not one man in the whole native community of Bengal, who does not feel and regret the difficult and

troublesome position in which your Lordship is now placed. Unfortunately for India and England too, your Lordship was not appointed as Governor General of India some nine years ago, when the man, to whose unscrupulous and dishonest policy is to be attributed all the present misfortunes of our country and your countrymen, was honoured with the post. Nothing, my Lord, is so essential in a ruler of India as probity, justice and honesty. Probity is required to preserve the dignity of the Sovereign whom the Viceroy represents, justice to secure the love of all classes of the people, and honesty to maintain the credit of the state in times of need. The want of all these three things in Lord Dalhousie is the cause of all the present sufferings of the people and the Government. It may be asked how it is to be known that Lord Dalhousie wanted all these three qualities of a ruler? It is not very difficult to prove this to impartial and unbiased men. Haughty in the extreme and pettishly mindful of the common and no way noticeable forms of social intercourse and etiquette which a truly noble mind disdains to think of, the man could not rest satisfied without making our nobles appear before him without their shoes; and forgetting the highness of the position occupied by him in Indian society, he never failed to give vent to his private animosities or dislike for particular individuals by even interfering with our courts of justice as in the case of Raja Radha Kant Deb, and so forth. Justice he had no idea of; as it is already known to all that the man who shrinks from the performance of his duty, can never be just. That Lord Dalhousie used to give way to sinister influences to please his masters, and the persons whom he feared, and to secure the good opinion of those of his countrymen whose good opinion was worth nothing at all, in order to promote his own private interests, the correspondence with the late lamented Hon'ble Mr. Bethune regarding the so called Black Acts, &c. &c., will never fail to testify. As to honesty, the reduction of the 5 per cent Government promissory notes to 4 per cent ones, his annexations of Oude, Nagpore, &c. in direct violation of august and sacred treaties, the strictest observance of which alone could support the dignity as well as

credit of Government at all times, must ever proclaim aloud to the world at large that he had not even the least spark of that noble attribute in him.

If, My Lord, the late Governor General had possessed the three qualities specified above, India would not be the India of the present day. The first veto attached by your Lordship to the legislative enactment containing the obnoxious clause surreptitiously inserted by our Honourable Legislators, has secured to you the respect of the whole native society. The energy and magnanimity displayed by your Lordship on many an occasion since the beginning of the present rebellion, and the manner in which your Lordship has checked the insolence and the evil propensities of the wretched and miserable press of this country, the proprietors and conductors of which have made it a principle to misrepresent every thing and vilify the servants of Government and the natives in general and thereby create a wide gulf between the rulers and ruled have won you not only the good opinion but the admiration of our whole community. Lately, the Friend of India, while honouring us with kicks and cudgels, called us cowards insensible to or incapable of appreciating the advantages of British rule distinguishing good from evil, because we have not run any risk by joining those who are now fighting against the Government, forgetting that he was then trying to make it a point of honour among us to aid and encourage the rebels and mutiniers, and telling us virtually that we would awfully deserve to be kicked and cudgelled, were we to slip this opportunity of displaying courage. We need not say any thing more on this subject.

Here, My Lord, it is necessary to observe that though your Lordship is individually loved by our countrymen, yet it is to be confessed that we are not insensible to the faults and sins of your countrymen. It is the habitual conduct of some of those towards the natives of the country that has contributed in no small measure to estrange the minds of our exciteable brethren of the North-West to rise against your authority; and it is no fault of theirs that Bengallees refuse to confound them with the rulers of the land. With the editors of the English papers

the Indigo planters of several districts are pursuing a course which is calculated to irritate our countrymen to the last degree. Here, My Lord, is a specimen. Mr. Hampton of the district of Baraset has begun to take advantage of the present miserable state of things in a manner, which would startle all lovers of order and justice. To come to the point. There is an estate in the district of Baraset called Turuff Chowrassie, the Zemindars of which, unable to cope with the above named gentleman have temporarily farmed it out to him. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the planter-ijardar has in addition to giving out in the newspapers that the ryots of the above district are making preparations to rise against the Government, caused almost all the heads of communities and villages belonging to the said Turuff to be imprisoned in the jail of Baraset under the false pretence of their being guilty of assembling large bodies of evil disposed men, bringing at the same time innumerable false huftum cases, many of which have been already decreed against the ryots who are obnoxious to him, whose lands he wishes to cultivate with indigo, and who will soon, for that very reason, be obliged to leave their homes and remove themselves to other parts of the country, ruining the Zemindars on whose estate they were settled so long, for which the planters themselves care very little. The Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Baraset, who is in all other respects a very sensible and good hearted young gentleman, is compelled to yield to the false representations of the planters, considering the nature of the times. Indeed, if the people of Baraset were likely to rise against the state, we would humbly beg to ask, could it then be possible for the Joint Magistrate of Baraset to continue at his post and arrest and imprison so many heads of families and villages? If My Lord, such a state of things be allowed to exist and continue, even the permanent settlement, which is the best safeguard of the continuance of British rule in Bengal and without which this country would have long ago been filled with confusion and anarchy, will fail to preserve that order which is now so much needed. The North-Western Provinces &c., now so terribly convulsed, would have been as quiet with-

out the sepoy army as can be imagined, if the former rulers, of those parts had been wise enough like Lord Cornwallis to give them but a premanent settlement. The Zemindars of the Agra Presidency would have, in that case, been afraid of their Zemin-darees, considering themselves responsible for the conduct of their ryots and restrained them with a strong hand to the best of their power and abilities as in Bengal. Years, however, will roll away, before the mischief done by this single error of judgment, will be repaired.

In conclusion, My Lord, we would beg and entreat your Lordship to issue instructions to the moffusil criminal and revenue authorities to give no head to the false representations of the indigo planters and the editors of the English papers who always side with those from whom they expect the best support, to watch over the conduct of the former, and leave the ryots of Bengal free and unmolested at the present juncture.

We have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient & humble Servants,

SOME INHABITANTS OF THE DISTRICT OF BARASET.

20 August 1857

THE REBELLION

The week has been one of continued panic in the metropolis. Rumours of the rebels having approached Raneegunge on the one side, boating down the Bhaugeeruttee on another, insidiously threading their way through the numerous creeks in the Sunderbuns in a third direction, and assembling in force in the heart of Calcutta, have kept alive the fears of some and the amusement of others during the last few days. No one, however, confesses to having seen a living rebel within three hundred miles of Calcutta. The fact is, the insurgents have not yet soiled with their presence the territory of Bengal proper. The province of Behar is still infested with them, although repeated chastisement has been inflicted on them in their very strongholds. They have been defeated at Arrah. On Patna they have failed to make

any impression ; the public treasure at Gya has been rescued by a single company of European soldiers ; Sherghatty has been reoccupied ; and there is strong reason to believe that Jugdeespore, the head quarters of the infatuated man who has put himself at the head of the revolt in the lower country, is now in ruins. The weakness which allowed the three regiments of mutiniers to escape unhurt from Dinapore has been retrieved by the energy of Major Eyre who, with a force numerically not a tenth of his enemies, is scouring the province, and the dashing tactics of a civilian, Mr. A Money, who has cut his way through the very heart of Behar with seven lacs of public money.

The insurrection in Behar has rendered the public roads from the upper country insecure for the transit of the mails, and intelligence, therefore from that reason reaches the capital with extreme irregularity. Nevertheless, we have a general knowledge of the progress of affairs with several forces which are now operating against the rebels in the Central Provinces. General Havelock is reported to be within five miles of Lucknow. The incidents of his passage thither, and they must have been numerous, are unknown to us, but we can conceive of the difficulties of his path to the capital of Oude. Lucknow is now probably occupied by fifteen thousand well-armed rebels under the guidance of a chief whose crimes forbid his entertaining a hope of reprieve. Nana Sahib, we believe, heads the rebels of Oude, and to rescue the garrison of the Lucknow residency out of his desperate hands will demand a larger sacrifice than the force under General Havelock can afford. But his proximity to Lucknow affords one hope, namely, that the beleaguered garrison may yet, in the last resort, have spirits to resist such a temptation as drew out Wheeler from the grave of honor dug by himself to be thrown into the foulest well that treachery ever laid in the path of confiding herosim.

The intelligence from Agra dates to the 29th ultimo. Up to that day, the Fort was holding it. It is believed in the Upper Provinces that the Baiza Baie, with the remnant of the Gwalior (....) that still obeys authority, was aiding the (....). Another report is that Baie has been (....) by her troops. The garrison

surely (....) succours. The accounts transmitted by (....) do leave a hope that may yet live to benefit by them.

From Dehli, the intelligence is on the whole cheering. The besieging force has been joined by Gourkhahs and Sikhs, but the Commander does not feel himself strong enough to attempt an assault. The mutiniers are represented to be in a very bad plight. Dissention, as might be expected, has broken out between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, and disease and the want of a guiding hand are making their effects perceptible upon the garrison. A moderate reinforcement of European troops is all that is requisite to ensure the fall of the city.

No fresh accounts have been received from the Deccan or from Central India. The Punjab is quiet, and vigorous measures are in progress to enrol Sikh troops for service against the rebels. We have detailed in another column the prospects of reinforcement from Europe. In the meanwhile, we trust, that the naval armament proceeding up the country under Captain Peel, a Crimean hero, and the other troops recently arrived will soon avail to relieve the anxieties and troubles of the garrisons in the Upper Provinces.

20 August 1857

THE REBELLION

The general aspect of affairs has improved during the week. The road between Calcutta and Benares is clear of those impediments which the mutiny at Dinapore had created. The electric telegraph between the metropolis and Cawnpore regularly conveys messages except when accidental causes interrupt the communication. Jugdeespore, the stronghold of the Behar rebels, has been captured by Major Eyre, and their chief is a fugitive — no one knows where. The principal official stations have been reoccupied, and authority has resumed its sway almost throughout the province of Behar.

Higher up, the district around Goruckpore has been abandoned; and it is stated also that Dinapore will be given up

for the present as a military station. This course it has been determined to adopt in pursuance of a plan which has many recommendations in the present state of affairs. It is necessary, above all things, to rescue the garrison of Lucknow. The repeated efforts made by General Havelock to reach that city have been frustrated by the comparative smallness of the force under his command. To strengthen him for a march to Lucknow is, and ought to be, the first object of the military authorities. The troops now steaming up the Ganges will reach Cawnpore immediately ; and the desired movement will be effected without delay. It is just possible that the concentration of all strength at Cawnpore at the present time will endanger the safety of Benares ; but the strong fortifications which have been raised there will baffle the attacks of such enemies as are likely to approach that city. The country on the north of Benares and of Allahabad will be laid open to ravages in case the Gurkha contingent supplied by Nepal turn unfaithful to its trust, but a stern necessity for the present compels the sacrifice of all meaner interests than the empire and its re-establishment, and they will be advanced by the rescue of the Lucknow garrison and of Agra.

For twenty miles around the latter city, it is said, not an enemy is to be seen. Perhaps, after the repulse of the first attack, the mutiniers thought it best to join the rebels at Delhi. Indeed, the frequent and large reinforcements received by the insurgents in that city can be accounted for by supposing only that the Neemuch mutiniers as well as a portion of the Gwalior troops have drawn themselves off to the head quarters of the rebellion. The rescue of the Lucknow garrison will be the first signal of the relief of Agra and the re-establishment of authority in whole provinces around it. Delhi, we have ample reason to believe, will not wait the final issue of these operations, but will bow its head to its conquerors ere many days have gone by.

An unfortunate occurrence at Dinapore points to a danger which has yet exhibited, we fear, but its earliest symptoms. A year ago, as our readers are aware, a soldier of H. M.'s 10th Foot was murdered on the parade ground of the 40th N. I. at

Dinapore and two were severely assaulted. The crime was brought home to the native regiment but the individual perpetrators could not be identified. Since that, the feeling between the two regiments has been far from amiable, a state of relations not very much improved by recent events. The disastrous fate of the detachment which went to the relief of Arrah wound up the feelings of the 10th Foot to the highest pitch of excitement, and the men declared they would take the first opportunity of revenging the death of their comrades. About a hundred men of the 40th N. I. had remained behind after the mutiny of the regiment. Some evenings ago, a number of soldiers attacked the lines in which these native soldiers resided, took them by surprise, shot some of them and bayoneted others, including two women. The assailants escaped, but four, it is said, were detected wiping their bloody bayonets. The consequences of this unprovoked attack will, it is needless to say, not end here. Whether an enquiry establish the guilt of the perpetrators of this foul deed or not, its remembrance will rankle in the minds of the Sepoys for years. There are still thirty thousand native soldiers drawing British pay. They will hear it—not with calm resignation. The event is to be the more lamented as it will confirm in the minds of the Sepoys the impression which we know has been created in them that it is the intention of Government to destroy their lives whether they be mutiniers or not. Absurd as this belief is, it has taken possession of the Sepoy mind since the affair at Benares, and it is not conducive to the re-establishment of tranquility.

27 August 1857

THE HINDOO SCHOOL

In another page will be found a letter addressed to the Director of Public Education by a large number of the wealthy and respectable portion of the native community. Most of the subscribers are parents and guardians of pupils attached to the Hindoo School, and they pray for the non-amalgamation

of that institution with the Metropolitan College, as requested in a letter written to the same functionary sometime back, and which also was signed by several gentlemen (whose names will be found subscribed to this) through a misapprehension of its purport. It appears to us to be a *prima facie* unreasonable request on the part of the advocates of the Metropolitan College that the integrity of a very old and flourishing establishment like the Hindoo School should be destroyed for the purpose of strengthening a comparatively new and unsuccessful one. Under its present management the Hindoo School imparts the benefits of education to nearly 600 Hindu youths—all belonging to the higher and middling classes—at the moderate charge of 4 Rs. a month, and after paying all expenses shows a surplus annual revenue of upwards of 6000 Rs. This result is solely to be attributed to the ability and care with which the school is conducted, and not to any particular bias in its favor, as some people are erroneously led to suppose. It is certainly bad logic and worse policy to remove an institution from hands in which it has prospered and place it in others which have failed in supporting another. Native gentlemen have no doubt now learnt to appreciate education more than they did twenty years ago, and begun largely to avail themselves of it, but it must be confessed that the time is not yet come when they will be trusted with the management of a large and popular institution like the Hindoo School as efficiently and as well as the government. We cannot for the life of us see why government, when solicited to aid an useful institution like the Metropolitan College, projected and supported for years by private money and private enterprise, should make their charity contingent upon the abandonment of their connection with another institution which is still more useful and popular, and that at a time when the latter is more than self-supporting—it is paying. Considering the liberality of government in supporting schools in localities where the benefits of English education are but imperfectly appreciated, we cannot but feel confident that it will take under its protection the

Metropolitan College as soon as it is satisfied that there is ample room in the metropolis both for it and the Hindoo School.

27 August 1857

THE REBELLION

Lucknow is yet unrelieved. The latest intelligence from that city is dated 2nd of the month. The garrison was in good health. They had driven mines under houses occupied by the enemy, and in one instance blown up a house with a number of their sharpshooters who were causing considerable annoyance. There is a report of the garrison having commenced treating with the besiegers, but we can scarcely believe that such a course should have been adopted by persons not unacquainted with the facts of the massacre at Cawnpore and with the character of the archfiend who, we believe, directs the operations of the enemy both at Lucknow and at Bithour. The garrison, however, has made more than one sortie recently with much success. Relief, we trust, is not very far distant. The 5th and 90th Foot have been delayed in their progress from some cause yet unexplained. General Outram arrived at Allahabad on the 2nd instant, and a portion of troops proceeding up has also arrived there. They will march or stream up to Cawnpore immediately. Reinforced by two such regiments as the 90th Foot and 5th Fusiliers and by Major Eyre's battery, General Havelock's saving mission cannot possibly fail.

The mutiniers of the Ramgurh Battalion are at Chota Nagpore. They have, we believe, been joined by a portion of the 5th Irregular Cavalry which broke away from Bhaugulpore. At Chota Nagpore, a chieftain, Juggernath Sah, has placed himself at the head of the rebels. But he already finds his affairs desperate. A brigade consisting of 500 European infantry, 800 Madras infantry and some guns left Raneeunge the other day, and is already close to Nagpore. The Sah, we believe, would readily betray the mutiniers into the hands of the

authorities if he were assured of his own safety. There is no apprehension of a rising of the population in that part of the country. The chiefs and zemindars who possess the most absolute control over their people have come in with hardly an exception, and offered to furnish contingents of men, according to their respective circumstances, in aid of the local officers. Government can we believe, at any moment raise a force of five thousand of the hill and jungle tribes of this part of the country, and we trust that the attempt will yet be made to secure the services of these people, whose (...) may be depended upon while they are under the control of a few zemindars easily impressionable by Governmental influences.

The province of Behar is cleared of insurgents except those who still linger with Cooar Sing in his place of refuge. The authorities have returned to their respective places, except the Collector of Arrah who remains with the public treasure at Buxar. It is apprehended from the temper of the population that disturbances might again take place. The remnant of the Dinapore mutiniers, after attempting possession of the Grand Trunk Road, have, under the pressure of attacks from detachments of the Benares and Mirzapore forces, fled to the hills west of Behar. The constant passage of European troops upon the Grand Trunk Road must have a great effect upon the spirit of the population; and the measures adopted by Mr. Samuells, which are just such as might be expected from him and those acting under his control have tended to restore tranquility. The peace of the province, however, is not safe until Cooar Sing is captured. His influence, which is great upon the Arrah population, will continue to be exerted to frustrate the designs of the authorities and to keep the district turmoil.

Agra continues exempt from the immediate presence of its besiegers. The garrison not only is not molested, but has actually detached a force against the insurgents at Allygurh, who, however, are too strong for the small force sent against them. These troops, therefore, have taken up a position at Hattrass, whence, opportunity offering, they may operate with

considerable effect upon bodies of rebels that may attempt another siege of Agra, as well as hold in check, pending reinforcement, the insurgents at Allygurh. The communications between Agra and Cawnpore are still closed, but the post reaches the first-named city regularly by way of Bhurtpore and Joypore. The mutiniers at Gwalior have made no further attempt upon the place, and it is believed that none will be made by them.

Intelligence has been received from Dehli down to the 26th ultimo. The Punjab troops under Brigadier Nicholson had joined the besieging force ; but no assault had been made upon the city. A heavy siege train was expected from Ferozepore. The besiegers are well-supplied with stores, and the camp is pretty healthy. The rebels continue to practise the tactics they seem to have copied from the defenders of Sevastopol, and make frequent attacks upon the rear of the camp, never, however, with success. One of these attacks was anticipated by Brigadier Nicholson, who routed the enemy with the loss of twelve of their field pieces, and the ammunition, equipage and baggage they had brought out. Public anxiety is on the stretch to learn that the final assault has been made and the city retaken. The Punjab is represented to be quiet.

Symptoms of mutiny have manifested themselves both in the Madras and Bombay armies. The 8th Madras Cavalry, on being ordered to embark for Bengal, presumed to dictate terms to the Government. They were instantly dismounted, and their horses were sent to Calcutta. The men of the Transport Train attached to the China force have been mounted upon their horses and forming two capital troops of cavalry will shortly proceed to the Upper Provinces. In the Presidency of Bombay the 12th, 27th and 29th N. I. have disobeyed orders and been disarmed. The character of the mutinies in both the Madras and Bombay armies is, however, very different from that of the outbreak in Bengal, being ascribable to causes neither of national nor of political interest.

10 September 1857

THE POLICY FOR THE TIMES

The admirable minute in which the Governor General has laid down for the guidance of the civil authorities rules for dealing with the population of the disturbed country has drawn forth criticism of a style which proves at least that it is not an exclusively Asiatic failing to mistake rigour for vigour and to ascribe conciliation to cowardice. A portion of the Anglo-Indian public is indignant at the idea hinted at by Viscount Canning that, after the rebellion is over, the country will again have to be governed for the British crown as a British dependency by British officials. The same class of thinkers forget that the policy laid down in the minute is the only policy practicable on a large scale. The British troops that will in a few months assemble in Hindoostan will be more than sufficient to bring back the country to its allegiance, to restore peace, and to coerce all those rebelliously or mutinously disposed; but the entire British army will not numerically suffice to ensure the hanging and bayoneting of every adult native of the Upper Provinces. We have of late learnt to doubt whether such a duty would not be congenial to the tastes of British soldiers, but we consider it a physically impossible task to slay, banish and imprison, man by man, thirty millions of human beings, however unresisting. Yet the conclusion to which the reasonings (if such they can be called) of the blood-hunters would logically lead is that such a measure alone is demanded by policy and alone would meet the requirements of justice.

It is impossible to deny that immediately after the first successes over the rebels the work of retribution was carried a little too far, and that too in a manner not to be expected from the agents of a civilized Government. At the town of Allahabad only, nearly eight hundred men were hanged between the 6th June and 16th July. The Seikhs were let loose upon the townspeople to wreak summary vengeance for the murder of a comrade. Brigadier Neill's course from Benares to Allahabad was marked by corpses of villagers all

of whom did not approach his force with hostile intentions. We will not speak of other atrocities committed by soldiers over whom, if discipline had been exercised, it would have had its sway. The river sides for miles presented an array of demolished homes. That the population thus punished harboured many who deserved the severest punishment that could be inflicted we will not deny. But the result proved that the principle of English law—that it were better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer—errs less in respect to sound policy than the converse maxim of the blood-hunters. A renewed attack upon Benares was the consequence of the severities of Brigadier Neill's course. The chronic disaffection of the villagers and the readiness with which they have again joined the rebels on both sides of the river attest the ill effects of similar proceedings on the part of our authorities. Well may, therefore, the Governor General caution the local authorities that,

“The continued administration of the law in its utmost severity after the requisite impression has been made upon the rebellious and disorderly, and after order has been partially restored, would have the effect of exasperating the people, and would probably induce them to band together in large numbers for the protection of their lives and with a view to retaliation, a result much to be deprecated. It would greatly add to the difficulties of settling the country hereafter, if a spirit of animosity against their rulers were engendered in the minds of the people, and if their feelings were embittered by the remembrance of needless bloodshed.”

That the danger pointed out by the Governor General is not a fancied one events have proved; that it is a serious one would be denied by none who is not carried away by an ungovernable passion for revenge. The course suggested in the minute is not unsuited to the dignity of the Government, and it has many recommendations besides:

“The civil officers in every district should endeavour, without condoning any heinous offence or making any promises of pardon for such offences, to encourage all persons to return

to their usual occupations, and punishing only such of the principal offenders as can be apprehended, to postpone as far as possible all minute enquiry into political offences until such time as the Government are in a position to deal with them in strength after thorough investigation. It may be necessary, however, even after a district is partially restored to order, to make examples from time to time of such persons, if any, who may be guilty of serious outrages against persons or property, or who by stopping the dawk or injuring the Electric Telegraph or otherwise may endeavour to promote the designs of those who are waging war against the state."

The Governor General particularly refers to one form of punishment rather extensively used by commanders and officials who claim credit for vigour in their proceedings :

"Another point to be noticed in connection with this subject is the general burning of villages, which the Governor General in Council has reason to fear may have been carried too far by some of the civil officers employed in restoring order.

A severe measure of this sort is doubtless necessary as an example, in some cases where the mass of the inhabitants of a village have committed a grave outrage and the perpetrators cannot be punished in their persons, but any approach to a wholesale destruction of property by the officers of Government, without due regard to the guilt or innocence of those who are affected by it, must be strongly reprehended. Apart from the effect which such a practice would have upon the feelings and disposition of the country people, there can be no doubt that it would prevent them from returning to their villages and resuming the cultivation of their fields, a point at this season of vital importance, in as much as if the lands remain much longer unsown, distress and even famine may be added to the other difficulties with which the Government will have to contend."

If the general principles laid down in the minute are unexceptionable, the particular directions given as to the mode in which mutiniers and deserters are to be dealt with deserve the most unqualified approbation :

Sec. 1st. No native officer or soldier, belonging to a regiment

which has not mutinied is to be punished by the Civil Power as a mere deserter, unless he be found or apprehended with arms in his possession. Such men, when taken before or apprehended by the Civil Power are to be sent back to their regiments whenever that can be done, they are to be dealt with by the military authorities, when such men cannot be sent back to their regiments immediately, they should be detained in prison pending the orders of Government to whom a report is to be made addressed to the Secretary to Government in the Military Department.

Sec. 2nd. Native officers and soldiers, being mutiniers or deserters, taken before or apprehended by the Civil Power, not found or apprehended with arms in their possession, nor charged with any specific act of rebellion, and belonging to a regiment which has not been guilty of the murder of its officers or of any other sanguinary crime, are to be sent to Allahabad, or to such other place as Government may hereafter order, and are there to be made over to the commandant, to be dealt with by the Military Authorities. Should any difficulty arise in sending the offender to Allahabad, either by reason of its distance from the place of arrest or otherwise, the offender should be imprisoned until the orders of Government can be obtained, unless for special reasons it may be necessary to punish the offender forthwith, in which case a report will immediately afterwards be made to the Government.

Sec. 3rd. Every mutinier or deserter who may be taken before or apprehended by the Civil Authorities, and who may be found to belong to a Regiment, which killed any European officer, or other European, or committed any other sanguinary outrage, may be tried and punished by the Civil Power. If the prisoner can shew that he was not present at the murder or other outrage, or if present, that he did his utmost to prevent it, full particulars of the case should be reported to Government in the Military Department, before the sentence, whatever it be, is carried into effect, otherwise the sentence should be carried into effect forthwith.

Sec. 4th. If it cannot be ascertained to what Regiment a

mutinier or deserter taken before or apprehended by the Civil Authorities belonged, he is to be dealt with as provided above by the 2nd Rule.

There have been persons who doubt the propriety of these rules. They have been construed to mean an amnesty for mutiny and rebellion. The clamour for the indiscriminate punishment of all who have been guilty of desertion and mutiny is so vehement that any deviation from a Draconic code is viewed as weakness. But will the advocates of this code maintain that the mutiniers of the 12th N. I., who sought out their officers and their officers' wives and shot them deserve no higher punishment than those of the 22nd N. I., who respectfully dismissed their officers and provided them with the means of transit through the country ? Are the murderers of Captain Plunkett and Major Holmes to be classed in the same rank of offenders with the Sowars of the 8th Irregular Cavalry who escorted their officers far out of danger before they joined the rebels. Justice would be sacrificed, all natural feeling outraged, aye, even revenge would lose its sweetness, if thus indiscriminately be the penalty levied upon offenders the proportions of whose punishment so widely vary. We feel certain that these judicious rules will be scrupulously respected by the civil authorities of the disturbed provinces ; nor are Mr. Grant and Mr. Samuells persons who will be trifled with in matters of such grave concern.

The Governor General's minute deals with a class of cases connected with the settlement and civil administration of the country ; and is intended for the guidance of civil functionaries. We expect the happiest results from the operation of the rules laid down by him. But there are now arising another class of difficulties to which his lordship's attention, we doubt not, has already been drawn, and which appear to us to demand the most vigorous action to meet them. We allude of course to the conduct of the European soldiery and the consequences entailed by it. That the soldiers themselves should feel as they do is no matter of surprise to any one. The atrocities of the rebels could not but excite their fiercest passions. But they are

soldiers—creatures of discipline. We cannot admit that under existing circumstances the penalty attached to breaches of discipline cannot be exacted from European soldiers. Wellington did it under even less favorable circumstances. Many English generals not to be compared to Marlborough or Wellington have done it. It is necessary to the efficiency of the European army in India that offences against discipline should not be over-looked. The soldiers of the 10th Foot who assassinated the sepoy and women at Dinapore have escaped ; and we are now told that a soldier has drawn his bayonet upon an officer of the 40th N. I. for speaking uncomplimentarily of the men of the 10th Foot. Brigadier Wilson is compelled by the frequency with which soldiers kill and wound native camp followers to tell the former that they will be punished for the offence, and that they should reserve their heroism for the assault upon Dehli. The artillery men at Neemuch plunder the town at random and do not even spare the public treasuries. The men at Allahabad plunder the commissariat stores so as to disable a column of troops for the most emergent operation that has been called for since the present troubles began. These are incipient signs of an evil that must be repressed with a rigorous hand. The European soldiers in India should have explained to them that marauding is unsoldierly and murder a cowardly offence, and if any of them should commit either offence let no consideration interpose to save him from adequate punishment.

10 September 1857

THE REBELLION

The fate of Lucknow still remains undecided, but not doubtful. The painful suspense which rested throughout the previous week on the public mind has been removed by intelligence that the besieged garrison is yet in position to hold out against its enemies. The reinforcements, on the arrival of which at Cawnpore the operations against Lucknow depend,

have by this time reached General Havelock, and the onward movement has probably commenced. The task of rescuing the besieged garrison has become somewhat difficult by the precautions taken by the rebels. The bank opposite to Cawnpore has been strongly fortified, and it would be impossible to cross the Ganges there without the utmost danger. Higher up the river is scarcely fordable at this season, and no doubt the slightest movement with the object of crossing will call to the Oude frontier, as well as in the rear of General Havelock's force, large bodies of rebel troops. The steamers may be employed, but even they cannot safely land troops in the face of an enemy so strong in numbers as those now obeying the Nana Sahib. The crossing of the Ganges will form the most difficult part of the operation. That overcome, the road to Lucknow will not, we believe, present many barriers to the passage of the force. A fort or an intrenchment on the way, guerilla attacks from the villages alongside, and possibly a pitched battle within a few miles of the city will be the all to delay the relief of the garrison.

The intelligence from Dehli dates to the 11th ultimo. The city, however, still holds out, we believe, though the day of the final assault cannot be very distant. General Wilson's force was awaiting the arrival of a heavy siege train, which in the opinion of the public ought to have followed General Anson and reached the force within a week of its arrival before the doomed city. Almost daily encounters were taking place between the the besiegers and the besieged ; and it is but little consolation to be told that the rebels are invariably worsted when we find that they return safely within the walls of the place as soon as they have had enough of the day's fight. A heavy responsibility will rest on the officers directing the siege, if it should be found that any opportunity for an assault was neglected. Looking to the list of casualties among officers we are tempted to believe that if General Anson had attempted the walls immediately upon his arrival before them, the place would have been taken with a smaller loss. After three months we find the suburbs fortified and filled with houses loop-hold for the safe action of the defenders they in turn protect, and strong intrench-

ments dug even beyond them. The history of the siege may not be written now, but when it is written, the reputation of the commanders who directed the siege will, we fancy, not stand very high. Those who sneered at Lord Gough's "cold stayle Tipperary" tactics and voted him a bad general because he was a superhumanly brave soldier will now see why it was that the hero of a hundred fights never lost a battle and was idolised by his army. Far be it from us to question the perfect willingness of our commanders before Dehli to incur any personal risk necessary to forward the siege. That cannot be said of the commanders of the force which has lost half a dozen chief officers in three months, but we apprehend that too much caution, too desponding an estimate of their own strength, too high an opinion of the defences of the city and a want of enterprise retards off the final coup. Agra can no longer be considered a besieged city. Symptoms of order are slowly manifesting themselves in parts of the country hitherto in extreme disorganization. Between Dehli and Umballa, the great Trunk Road is free from interruption. The Bhuttee territory is settling down under the energetic management of General von Curtlandt in Rohilkund, Khan Bahadoor Khan who had assumed the Government of the province has been beaten by the Hindoos at Bareilly; and from Bijnour the Hindoos have beaten back the Nabob of Nujeebabad and petitioned for the return of the civil officers, adding that they were holding and would continue to hold the country for the British Government against all comers. In Behar, however, the re-established tranquility, of the province has been again disturbed by the incursion of the rebels into the town of Gya. A detachment has been sent from Dinapore to put them down. These troubles will recur so long as Cooar Singh is not captured.

A slight commotion has taken place in the effeminate province of Assam. The people there are, of course, incapable of even conceiving the idea of taking up arms, but the local regiments contain a large number of Hindoostanees who have talked of setting up the obsolete Rajah of Assam. The 1st

Assam Light Infantry at Debrugurh have left their factories. Some Europeans are being sent up the river to the scene of these threatened disturbances.

We turn from the contemplation of these troublous scenes to the source from which relief is to come. The excitement in England has been great, but it has not been with an effect. The nation is in a mood to send any amount of force to repress the insurrection. Up to the 8th ultimo, 15,618 troops of all arms had been embarked for India in forty-five vessels, of which ten were steamers. In another month intelligence has been received of the extension of the rebellion, and immense efforts must have been made to detach troops to a number exceeding the greatest necessities of India.

17 September 1857

THE REBELLION

The quiescence of the force before Dehli, has disarmed even curiosity. The public feels an interest in the progress of siege trains and reinforcements, musters patience, and sullenly awaits the final result—whenever that may come. We feel but little elated to learn that “they have commenced the siege in right earnest and on regular siege principles”. For the present, our hopes must rest on the movements of Brigadier General Have-lock. The latest intelligence from his camp is dated the 17th instant when he was preparing to cross again the Ganges. He must doubtless have been joined by the reinforcements proceeding up under the command of General Outram. Up to that date Lucknow is reported to have been safe. If so their rescue occurs this week. Of General Outram statements have been in circulation for some days to the effect that he has at last succumbed to the mortal disease contracted by him in Persia, and which was exasperated by the anxieties of his position, rendered all the greater by the conduct of the European troops under him. While at Benares, it is said his medical advisers strongly urged him to remain there, but he rejected their counsel.

in obedience to the call of honor and duty. That these statements may prove unfounded we have little reason to hope. His loss as a military commander will not be much felt but the moral effect which death, by being so busy in our high places, is likely to create is one to be deplored.

The news from Agra is, as respects the garrison, cheering. The fort is well supplied, and the inmates come out into town whenever they choose. Not an enemy is to be seen within many miles. The Gwalior troops yet refrain from marching upon Agra. Hattras is occupied by a garrison who threaten the rebels near Allygurh. The latter town is held by a loyal Zemindar, who would scarcely have ventured to show so bold a front unless he had felt himself the superior of the rebels in strength. The cheering nature of the intelligence from this part of the country is, however, neutralized by the announcement of one event, the death of Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces. Since the commencement of these disturbances he marked the magnitude of the evil, and he measures accordingly. These measures have been successful to a certain extent. In fact, the safety of Agra is, in a great measure, due to the prompt and vigorous precautions adopted under his direction. The slightest acquaintance with native feeling will convince one of the fact that, had Agra been captured, the moral effect would have been only less bad than what would be produced by the capture of Calcutta. Every inhabitant of the North-Western Provinces would have considered his allegiance to the British Government to have ceased. Mr. Colvin's Government of those provinces was but of short duration ; what he might have done had he been spared is now an useless speculation. That he had the capacity to do much no one who has marked his distinguished official career will doubt.

The country between Dehli and Umballa has settled down so far as to allow travellers without an escort to pass without molestation. Below, the Jhansi districts have been quieted. In Rajpootanah the efforts of the Rajpoot princes have almost succeeded in re-establishing British authority in those places whence it had been driven away. The Saugor and Nerbudda

territories enjoy comparative repose. The Mahratta country is still agitated, but a combination of tact and force has hitherto suppressed every preliminary symptom of an outbreak.

The province of Behar has again been thrown into disquiet by the entrance into it of the mutiniers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry and the defection of the Rewah people. The district of Sarun is infested by the mutiniers. Shahabad is kept agitated by Ummur Singh, the brother of Cooar Singh. The authorities are said to have again left Arrah. Cooar Singh has succeeded in gaining over the people of Rewah to his side, and they have defied the authority of their legitimate chief. Should all these rebels join in an attack upon either Dinapore or Patna, neither place could be maintained without much more aid than is immediately available. It is a fortunate circumstance that the mutiniers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry are actuated, as it seems, by other purposes than to seat Cooar Singh on the throne of Behar. They are already crossing the Soane, and will most probably endeavour to join the forces of the Nanah above Allahabad. The Commander in Chief, it is stated, has resolved to send a regular force of five thousand men to clear the province of the rebels.

The Hindoostanee warriors of the 1st Assam Light Infantry still continue to be objects of suspicion to the European residents. Their commandant has taken the very judicious step of separating them from the rest of the corps, and sending them away on out post duty to a place where there are no Europeans. A number of European sailors have been sent towards Debrugurh, but from their insubordinate habits much less is expected than is necessary to reassure the minds of the residents.

Some European troops have arrived during the week from the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. The Land Transport Train have been mounted and are on their way to the Upper Provinces.

THE REBELLION

Public attention has again been drawn to the head quarters of the rebellion at Dehli. The arrival of the heavy siege train with the reinforcements which formed its escort from Ferozepore seems to have been the signal for the resumption of active operations against the besieged walls. The force advanced towards the walls on the 7th ultimo, and on the morning following opened a fire from two batteries. The batteries were then advanced further as buildings beyond the walls came into the possession of the besiegers. The loss in these operations is stated at 18 killed, including two officers, and 80 wounded. The narrative from this time forward to the 16th is incomplete. On the latter date, the magazine was carried with a very slight loss, the enemy being seized with a panic at the charge. One hundred and twenty-five pieces of ordnance with large quantities of shot and shell were found in it. Every place on the outer side of the canal which runs through the city was occupied. Batteries were thence opened upon the Palace. The loss in the course of these operations was, as might be expected, somewhat heavy. The complete occupation of the city in a couple of days was then reckoned a certainty.

The troops at Cawnpore having been joined by the reinforcements under General Outram, (who, we are sincerely happy to find, still attends the force as a volunteer) crossed the Ganges into Oude on the 19th ultimo. The works erected by the rebels to oppose the passage do not appear after all to have been so formidable in their character as was supposed. Two companies of H. M.'s 78th Highlanders and the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore with some heavy guns occupied an island and thence opened a fire on the enemy's position from which they were speedily dislodged. The whole group then crossed over the Ganges with little loss beyond that caused by a few accidents and some little confusion. The force was composed as follows :

INFANTRY.

1st. Brigade.

H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers	}	Brigadier General Neill commanding.
„ „ 84 Foot		
„ „ 64 Foot, detachment		

2nd. Brigade.

H. M.'s 78th Highlanders	}	Brigadier Hamilton commanding.
„ „ 90th Foot.		
Regiment of Ferozepore		

ARTILLERY.

Captain Maude's battery	}	Major Cooner commanding.
Captain Olphert's battery		
Major Eyre's battery		

CAVALRY.

Volunteer Cavalry	}	Captain Barrow commanding.
12th Irregular Cavalry		

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

Captain Crommelia	}	Chief Engineer.
Lieutenants Limond and		Assistant
Judge and Captain Oakes		Field Engineers.

Brigadier General Havelock, C. B., to command the force. The progress of this force does not appear to have been further interrupted for miles after it had crossed over. The rebels are described as flying before it. The latest advices are dated Camp Babugunge, thirty four miles from Cawnpore, 22nd September. Thence firing was distinctly heard from Lucknow. It is stated that the rebels seeing the near approach of the relieving force made a last desperate attack upon the intrenchments, in which they would have nearly succeeded, but for the still more desperate character the defence. The soldiers finding that nothing would prevent the assailants from making up to the intrenchments, and their mortars failing, they fired the fuses of shells and hurled them with their hands among the masses below.

Intelligence of the rescue of the garrison will doubtless reach us in the course of today.

The province of Behar has for the present been abandoned by the rebels. The capture of Cooar Singh's stronghold by Major Eyre and the flight of that chief seems to have deprived the mutineers and the rebels of all lead there, and they accordingly crossed the Soane and entered into the northern districts. Cooar Singh too seems to have transferred his activity to the same regions. The province, however, is not safe. Umur Singh is hovering about Sasseram. Cooar Singh, reinforced by the people of Rewas, purposes to return to Behar. The population of the locality is still in a stage of excitement. A battle has been fought with the insurgents of Azimgurh in which they were defeated with severe loss.

The Santhals are still giving trouble. In the district of Maunbhoom, they have got for their leader one Koonkur Coomar, a notorious dacoit who was released from the jail of Hazareebagh by the mutineers, and other people of a similar character. They have commenced to plunder, but are held in check by the Seikhs.

The province of Assam has not yet been disturbed by any actual outbreak. The local troops are still obedient. The ex-Rajah of Assam as well as the ex-Rajah of Jynteeah have been placed in custody, and the tranquility of that part of the country may be considered safe.

The mutinies are not yet at an end. The 50th N. I. at Nagode and the 52nd at Jubulpore have mutinied. At the latter place, the mutineers were met by Madras troops who inflicted severe loss upon them. No officers have been killed.

1 October 1857

LIST OF NATIVES OF BENGAL ESCAPED AFTER THE MUTINIES

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	SITUATIONS HELD BY		REMARKS
3rd June At Neemuch	1st July At Indore	1st July 10 P.M. Mhow	6th July 2nd line Mehidpore	4th July Augur 7th July Shajehanpore in Malua.
Hurrochunder Dutt & family	Chundernagore	Head Assistant Indore Agency office.	Assistant Accountant	The mutiny broke out at 9 in the morning; escaped by concealing into the city, remained there five days shifting the place of concealment every day; on the 6th removed to Mhow; every thing plundered save the cloths on their back; for further particulars see the Bombay Times.
Gungachurn Dass & family	Hooghly		Ditto.	
Baikont Nath	Kanaiepore near Serampore	Head Assistant Indore	Opium Agency.	
Chatterjee & family	Ditto	Assistant Ditto.		
Nobinchunder Gangooly				
Kedarnauth Chunder	Chundernagore	Deputy Post Master	Indore.	Were fired at and pursued while escaping; now safe; they were at office when mutiny took place and saw the family of the Inspecting Post Master murdered.
Gopal Chunder Dass	Hooghly	Assistant Writer	Ditto	

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	SITUATIONS HELD BY	REMARKS
Romes Chunder Gopto	Gorepay or Noyehatty	Sub. Assistant Surgeon Neemuch Jawud	Safe at Neemuch. Escaped to Mundipore by jumping over the window of the Post Office as 3 troopers of the 1st Cavalry with swords drawn entered the Post Office Bungalow which they set fire to and entered ; returned to Neemuch after 3 days and resumed his duties.
Lukhinarain Dass	Dhuneikhally	Deputy Post Master Neemuch	
Gourmohun Ghosal	Buddeebatty near Serampore	Deputy Post Master Augur	Safe at Indore with the Deputy Post Master of that place.
Rajchunder Dass & family	Not known	Writer of the 5th Cavalry Gwalior contingent at Augur	Life saved but were severely maltreated and every thing plundered ; the women and children were dragged out of the house and stripped of every thing, clothes and ornaments — whereabouts still unknown.

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	SITUATIONS HELD BY	REMARKS
Chundee Churn Mitter	Bhowanipore	Living with the above Baboo at Augur.	Saved, but not known where he has escaped.
Kailas Chunder Gangolee	Kanaipore	Writer in the Mundipore Assistant Opium Agency office.	Safe at Mhow.
Ramkomul Roy	Near Gorepay	Deputy Post Master of Mundipore.	Escaped to Neemuch but returned to Mundipore and resumed his duties.
Hurodass Banerjee	Benares	Writer Indore Agency office.	Concealed in his servant's house but the traitor expelled him in the night strip- ping him every thing ; disguised as a Fukeer remained 5 or 6 days in a village ; thence removed to Mhow.
Kailaschunder Bose & family	Bamonmoora near Baraset	Writer in the Assistant General Superintendent's office at Mhow.	
Beneemadhub Ghosh & family	Amradanga	Adjutant's Writer of the 23rd N. I.	

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	SITUATIONS HELD BY	REMARKS
Kedarnauth Dutt & family			
Sreenauth Mitter	Conenuggur	Quater master's ditto of ditto.	Safe at Mhow. Mutiny occurred but the bazar and other people were left unmolested; 6 Bungalows burnt and 3 officers killed; further particulars see in the Bombay Times.
Denonauth Mitter	Rajpoor	Comt Gomashta at Mhow.	
Rammohun Banerjee	Satgachey near Calnah	Living with do; held the situation of Cattle Gomashta.	
Mudhoosoodun Banerjee	Rungpore near Barrackpore	Living with ditto.	
Tarucknauth Banerjee	Seebpore opposite Calcutta	Write 1st Lt cavalry.	Escaped to Indore, every thing lost.
Woomahchurn Dass	Hooghly	Deputy Post Master Shajehanpore.	
Bhugovan Chunder Dutt	Chundernagore	Head writer Nimar Agency office.	Safe: nothing occurred at Mundlaisir.

NAMES	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	SITUATIONS HELD BY	REMARKS
Kissoreemohun	Hooghly	Writer in the Sehore Agency office.	Safe at Hossungabad where they accompanied the Political Agent, Major Rickards.
Bhoobun Mohun Mitter	Conenugur		
Huronauth Bose & family	Bamoonmoora	Deputy Post Master	Still at Sehore (Town). The post office, Contingent and Treasury have all been made over of the Begum of Bhopal.
Bissessur Sain & family	Baraset	Head Writer of the Bhopal contingent.	Twice escaped; once in June and again on the 6th July to Oojein but returned to Mehidpore on the 17th July on the return of the officers who also escaped on both occasions with their families.
Bissessur Dutt & father	Bamoonmoora	Assistant ditto.	Safe at Indore.
Jadub Chunder Seal	Hooghly	Writers of the Mehidpore contingent.	
Dwarkanauth Seal	Ditto	Writer in the Sillana	
Mohes Chunder	Bamoonmoora	Superintendent's office.	
Roy		Deputy Post Master	
Bhugoban Chunder	Ditto	Mehidpore.	Safe at Mehidpore.
Roy brother of the above			

THE REBELLION

Dehli has fallen and the garrison of Lucknow has been relieved. The first is a glorious act, the latter a noble one.

It is impossible to overrate the importance of the event which has re-established British authority in the ancient capital of India. Its moral effect will be more than what would be achieved by the arrival of all the European troops on their way out. There can be no more mutinies—rebellion can no longer make head against the returning tide of loyalty and good sense. The insurrection has received its death-blow ; and the country at large will at once feel the salutary effect of the stroke that has felled the monster. Never since the commencement of the revolt has the national feeling been better or the prospects of the disaffected worse. The final operation against the city appears to have been attended with great loss ; but the result has reconciled the public to it. A walled town of an mean strength, surrounded by defences formidable though irregular in character could scarcely be taken without a heavy sacrifice of life. We wait with anxiety for the particulars the thrilling interest of which is foreshadowed by the single fact that two of the king's sons have already been executed. Unfortunately, large bodies of the rebels had deserted the city before the final assault. Had all those regiments which foreswore themselves and with eyes turned to the imperial city overlooked all obligations of duty, good faith, loyalty, friendship and self interest, been congregated for its final defence, the act of retribution would have been as complete as it has been signal. At the time of the capture but a few thousand men were present. What their fate has been it is not difficult to conjecture. The city is represented as desolate. This desolation cannot have been the effect of the bombardment only, for that was neither long nor extend over a large line of the defences. Fearful must have been the slaughter of the rebels. The destiny of the king and the survivors among his family is now the subject of debate. That nothing appertaining to the royal estate should be left of that firebrand of India is a settled point. His life it were well to spare, and probably will be spared. His person should be brought down

to Calcutta, where in the metropolis of a new civilization he should be left to represent the reliques of an effete one. His pension will, of course, be reduced to the measure of a captive's wants. The country will thus be at once relieved of an incubus and an incendiary.

The Governor General justly prides himself upon the fact that recapture of Dehli has been effected by the aid of the ordinary resources of British India. Not a single soldier brought from beyond the confines of the presidency has had a hand in the operation. Those who believed that India was ill defended have this fact pointed out to them as a proof of the illusion they laboured under. The suddenness of the revolt precluded the possibility of greater preparation on the part of those charged with its suppression. Yet, ere four weeks were gone, the rebels were put to fight for their lives. The delay in the realization of the final result disappointed many; but the obstinate character of the defence, and (as it must be admitted) the skill with which it was conducted showed the earlier success was impossible. The Governor General further acknowledges the value of the services and aid rendered during the entire period of the siege by the native chiefs of the north west. To the energy and influence which maintained in tranquillity the territories between Dehli and Ferozepore is mainly due the protection from embarrassing attacks on the rear of the besieging force; and that energy and influence were chiefly native. How complicated, for instance, would the conduct of operations have become had the Rajah of Pattialah failed to keep his territories quiet. We are not aware of the number of troops contributed by these chiefs of General Wilson's force; but they must have formed valuable aids to an army whose principal deficiency was in numbers. Sir John Lawrence receives high praise for the tact and judgment displayed by him since the outbreak took place, and which have resulted in the comparative exemption of the Punjab from the consequences of the sepoy mutinies. His position, to be sure, was one in which mediocrity or embecility alone could fail to gain applause, but it must be admitted that he has well used his advantages.

One shudders as he thinks what would have been the fate of

the garrison of Lucknow if relief had been delayed but twenty four hours longer. Two mines had been laid and advanced to a considerable distance below the walls. They were ready to be sprung, and we even now wonder that the insurgents did not at the last moment think of bringing on that catastrophe. Perhaps, their fears overpowered their malice, and the hurry of flight was not favorable to the execution of a desperate enterprise. However, if ever relief was felt, it was that brought by General Havelock's column to the despairing captives of Lucknow. Their relief is one of those exploits in the successful performance of which a soldier finds a reward greater even than glory. The history of chivalrous times does not present deeds upon which the mind can rest with greater pleasure. There is not a soul with a spark of manliness that does not envy the lowest private of General Havelock's force. It would appear that the rebels offered little opposition to the progress of the column after it crossed the Ganges and that but one battle of any importance was fought under the very walls of Lucknow. The city has been shelled ; and most of its inhabitants have fled. The troops were to retire with the relieved people to Cawnpore, and the movements has probably been already made. The passage however was not to be made without constant fighting: as even if the rebel troops be anxious to get rid of their unwelcome visitors with the least possible delay and interruption, the arch-rebel, Nana Sahib, will goad them on to fight. There are indications, however, of a return of reason to the minds of the people of Oude. The principal zemindars among them are making overtures for a reprieve, and Rajah Maun Singh, whom perhaps it would be doing an injustice to it we reckon him among the disloyal and temporizing, has, it is stated, actually joined General Havelock's force with nine thousand men. Yet Oude, we believe it has been settled, is for the present to be left to its fate.

The next points to which attention is to be turned are Agra and Saugor. The relief of the first named city or rather the strengthening of its garrison is, we believe, to be effected by General Havelock's force, and partly too by a detachment of the troops who have lately captured Dehli. The rebels from the last named place have probably taken refuge at Gwalior, whence

in attack upon Agra is not to be considered an improbability. The detachment in pursuit cannot have done much execution ; but joining the garrison of Agra it will materially contribute to its security. Gwalior must wait to be reduced by the regiments now on the Indian seas. The column of Madras troops marching from southward will probably suffice for the clearing of the Saugor and Bundelkund districts and the suppression of Boondelah violence.

Cooar Singh still infests the country west of Behar. The junction of the Rewah Rajah's men with his force has given rise to considerable apprehensions of his returning to that province. The Ramgurh mutiniers in their progress upwards have been met and defeated with severe loss. The brigade of European and Madras troops which left Raneegunge some days ago has advanced a great way. It will have to be divided into two sections ; one marching towards Chota Nagpore and other operating above Hazareebaugh, Jaunpore and Azimgurh are still held by the authorities ; but a Mahomedan, a selfelected Governor for the Emperor of Dehli, rules Goruckpore. Much is said of the Goorkhah troops employed there, and it is stated that Junge Behadoor has offered the aid of several organized battalions from Nepal.

8 October 1857

CARRIAGE AND SUPPLIES TO TROOPS

Lord Canning's administration of India will be remembered with gratitude by the labouring population of these provinces, if for no other act of his Lordship, for that alone by which he has essayed to relieve the working classes from the oppression and exactions which hitherto was their inevitable doom whenever the troops of the empire took the field or marched from one station to another on even ordinary duty. The hardships which the poor endured on such occasions were greater far and more crushing than any which the French army in Spain inflicted on King Joseph's unwilling subjects. The natives of Bengal

bear a constitutional dread of authority—never mind whether it be represented in the person of the sublime judge or in that of the grovelling chuprassie. A badged peon is enough to send half the population of a village to the protecting shelter of their wife's salaries. The unnatural dread of men who constitute the defence of honest people against crime and rapine has been fanned and fostered by a system of careless toleration of ministerial vagaries to which adequate attention has only of late been directed. Every member of the Government was aware of the extent and inveteracy of the evil, but none cared to take any notice of it. In a mistaken belief that it was not his province to doctor the disease or that his individual exertions towards compassing a more salutary state of things would be ineffectual and end in bringing him only into bad odour with his superiors, every one of whom was interested in giving as cheering and utopian an account of the administration of his district as was compatible with already divulged notorious abuses. In a private letter of Sir Charles Napier recently published by his brother, the peculiar distress into which the peasant classes of the Indian population are thrown by the requirements and insolence of amarching Regiment, are described with the graphic reality which the pen of Sir Charles Napier was alone capable of imparting to simple letter press. These columns have over and over denounced the oppressive arrangements under which carriage and cattle and supplies were accustomed to be provided for the use of troops. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal a short time ago authoritatively prohibited the impressment of laborers and laborer's property in the manner hitherto in force, under severe penalties for infringement of his order. Yet forced labor would have continued to form an important part of the system under which Regiments are provided with carriage and supplies on the line of march if an earnest desire to eradicate the baneful practice had not induced Government to create a particular department, distinct from every other already existing, whose sole business it shall be to superintend and watch over the arrangements for the supply of carriage and provisions to troops moving up from Ranceunge to the Upper Provinces. Mr. Ward of the Bengal

Civil Service has been appointed chief of the department, and the Government of India will place twelve qualified persons at his disposal to receive charge of as many, different stations between Raneegeunge and Benares at which supplies are to be stored beforehand. The letter from the secretary to the government of Bengal to the superintendent of carriages and stores detailing these arrangements embodies a spirit of justice and forbearance well calculated to allay the fears and anxieties of the people residing in the districts through which troops will constantly march. In the present condition of affairs, when the European soldiery are naturally screwed up to the highest pitch of indignation and revenge against the native population, elaborate measures are necessary for the protection of the latter, and it will tax Mr. Ward's best energies to carry out the humane and benevolent intention of government regarding prompt payment for all articles procured for the use of the soldiery and the good treatment of men and cattle retained for service with them. We believe that a little care and attention to details will enable the superintendent for the supply of carriages and provisions to relieve the ryot from every grievance, at the same time that he makes efficient arrangements for the comfort and accommodation of the troops. Some coercion might be used in inducing men to leave their homes for a distant service, and that it is being now used is evidenced by the general flight from these parts of Palkee bearers, but it is to be hoped that the men that are compelled to do a service for which they have a justifiable dislike owing to severance from family and home (a sore point in a Bengallee's feelings) will be compensated for the sacrifice by a fair scale of pay, fair not by local nerricks but by a more indulgent nerrick after due calculation of the privations to be incurred, and by as early a relief as it may be in the power of the authorities to grant. The reform sketched out promises to be vastly beneficial. It is to be wished that the vigor and strict eye of the head of the new Department will fully substantiate the paternal intentions which gave birth to it.

THE REBELLION

The ecstatic feelings with which the public received the intelligence of the relief of Lucknow have been partially replaced by grave apprehensions about the safety of the relieving force. The rumour for some time was that General Havelock's force had been attacked by an immense body of the rebels, routed and slaughtered, and that its annihilation was followed by a general massacre of the women and children. It was said that the force was allowed to enter Lucknow merely that its destruction may be surer and more complete. Even in quarters where more moderate ways of thinking prevailed it was believed that the city was surrounded by about thirty thousand rebels, the greater portion of whom were cavalry, and that the troops under General Havelock were in want of provisions. Every one is apprehensive at least of the danger of cutting a retreat through a rebel country, swarming with armed and warlike enemies, possessing every advantage of local knowledge and the command of important positions. Except of the last mentioned danger we take leave to doubt the reality of every one which has been mentioned. Two thousand five hundred Europeans and five hundred Seikhs, furnished with every appliance of war and under efficient leadership, are not likely to be annihilated by a rabble of twenty or thirty thousand ill-armed soldiers and peasantry. We doubt even whether the rebels actually in arms about Lucknow amount to the smaller of these numbers. But for the presence of the women and children, whose safety it is a paramount duty to consult, the troops could have cut their way down to Cawnpore with little more or less than ordinary active service involves. It may therefore have been found necessary to wait for further reinforcements before the march back is attempted. The road should be partially cleared and those villages skirting it which may give shelter to guerillas razed to the ground before the lives of the women and children are hazarded on it. This task cannot be accomplished until two or three thousand more troops are poured into Oude, which will not be the case until five or six weeks hence. It may happen in the meanwhile that the rebels

themselves may for want of provisions and ammunition be compelled to disperse themselves, for their resources cannot be very large ; and the approach of the cultivating season will also tend to draw away many from the rebel ranks. We do not know what credit to attach to the statement made by a contemporary that provisions sufficient for the subsistence of four thousand men for a month have been thrown into Lucknow, but if that be a fact the city cannot be very strongly besieged by the rebels. Maun Singh is said to command them the statement recently put forth to the effect that he had joined General Havelock with nine thousand men being contradicted. On the whole the aspect of affairs in Lucknow is far from cheering.

Detailed accounts of the assault made upon Dehli on the 14th ultimo which terminated in the dislodgment of the enemy from the outer defences have been received in official despatches from the Major General commanding the force and the Adjutant General. The fight seems to have been a most obstinate one, and the loss consequently has been severe on the side of the victors. Out of 2,000 Europeans engaged 170 were killed and 562 wounded, and out of 3,000 natives 103 were killed and 310 wounded. The mutiniers who escaped have fled towards Allygurh whither they were pursued by a flying column of cavalry and horse artillery. An action was fought which ended in their defeat. Many of them have gone towards Muttra, and some, we suppose, towards Barreilly. Colonel Greathead had arrived half way between Allygurh and Agra on the 12th instant. The presence of the fugitives near Allygurh and at Muttra adds to the dangers of Agra. That city is now threatened on the one side by the Gwalior troops and on the other from Allygurh by the escaped rebels of Dehli. Muttra too swarms with mutinied sepoy who will join any attack upon the capital of the North-Western Provinces. Colonel Greathead's column will be a valuable addition to the garrison of Agra, but further reinforcements are necessary to ensure its safety. For these reinforcements both Meerut and Dehli must now contribute their quotas. Khan Behadoor Khan still reigns

at Berreilly. He sent a force to attack Nynetal about the beginning of September, but the men were repulsed.

The defeat of the Ramgurh mutiniers at Chuttra, a place midway between Dorundah and Hazareebaugh, seems to have been most complete and led to their thorough dispersion. As anticipated, the brigade which was proceeding up from Raneegunge has been divided into two columns. One of them will chase the rebels under Coower Singh and Ummur Singh, and the other proceed to Chota Nagpore to punish the insurgents there. The Rewah territory is for the present entirely in the possession of the rebels, the Rajah being utterly unable to restrain his men. It is, we believe, the rebels from this quarter who threaten Allahabad. No fears, however, are entertained for the latter place, which is now garrisoned by the Naval Brigade besides some infantry and gunners, and can, at any moment, command the services of a flotilla of steam boats.

Upon the fall of Dehli, we had ventured to express a hope that mutinies would thenceforth cease. We miscalculated the depth of the infatuation under which the sepoys are labouring. Two companies of the 32d N.I. stationed at one of the outposts in the Sonthal district have mutinied within the last week, murdered their officers and one or two Christian residents, and proceeded to join the other rebel bodies up the country. Even if the entire regiment mutiny they will be able to do but little mischief. The tranquility of Behar is safe. The rebels are nowhere in force in the province, and the admirable management of Mr. Sammuells and his subordinates has infused a general feeling of confidence and security to the inhabitants.

15 October 1857

THE REBELLION

Public anxiety still centres on Lucknow. There can be little doubt that the situation of the garrison was, at least to a very late date, extremely critical. Divided and without the means of mutual communication, the troops which occupied the Balee-

guard and the Alumbaugh were hemmed in on all sides by bodies of rebels which, whatever they may want, do not seem to have been deficient in determination. An attempt made by the force under General Havelock to cut its way to Cawnpore appears to have been repulsed. But the day of triumph is near. Colonel Greathead's column, strengthened by reinforcements from Cawnpore, which seem to have raised its strength to about three thousand and a half, left that city for Lucknow on the 28th ultimo. Whatever the impediments it may have met on the march, its progress could not have been much delayed, and it is but reasonable to suppose that the much needed relief reached the people at Lucknow on the 31st.

The other source of anxiety is the state of the garrison of Saugor. There, a few Europeans encumbered with women and children, have been holding out for months against a country scarcely less hostile than Oude. They have suffered immense hardships and been tantalized with hopes of succour. The Madras column has reached Jubbulpore, but it has made no sign of relief to the distressed people at Saugor. The whole of central India has yet to feel the influence of British arms, and the troops that have marched from Bengal towards Chota Nagpore seem destined to exercise it. At the latter place, affairs seem to have taken a favorable turn.

Agra has not been since the date of the last battle threatened by any enemy. The country between it and Cawnpore seems to have been humbled. Bithour has again been chastised. A force has left Jaunpore to rescue the district of Goruckpore. Cooar Sing and his brother are nowhere. At all events, they appear to be without means to make ahead against the advancing columns of British troops which now offer a ubiquitous presence throughout the country between Raneegunge and Benares. Sir Colin Campbell has arrived at Allahabad, having met unmo-
lested on the way some of the mutiniers of the 32nd N. I. Troops continue to arrive from England. The number already landed may be reckoned at more than four thousand.

5 November 1857

THE REBELLION

All over the country the feeling is gaining ground that the rebellion will die out long before England has an opportunity of putting forth all her strength to aid in its suppression. Its strongest convulsions are still felt in Oude, where the aspect of affairs has considerably brightened within the last few days. The latest intelligence from that province is that Brigadier Hope Grant having left Cawnpore with the second army of relief for Lucknow on the 1st instant was encamped at a place half way between those two cities, expecting the Commander-in-Chief who was to join the force immediately and assume command of the expedition in person. Brigadier Grant has under his troops to the number of nearly three thousand and five hundred, with batteries of heavy as well as field ordnance. The circumstance of a column so strong being halted within a few miles of the place it was sent to relieve would seem to indicate that the besieged garrisons in Lucknow have not been reduced to any particular straits. The movements of the Commander-in-Chief rather lead to the inference that his intention is to commence operations at this early part of the season with a force sufficient for the reconquest of Oude. Such a force will not be long in collecting. The insurgents in Oude themselves seem to understand the desperate state of their affairs at Lucknow. The boy whom they had raised to the throne they have removed to Fyzabad, which place they are fortifying.

The fall of Dehli has released a number of troops for the work of scouring the disturbed districts around that city. We have already seen what valuable aid the column detached under Colonel Greathead has rendered to the stations below. Another column under Colonel Showers marched into Rohilkund and has cleared Barreilly. It was thence to march upon Futtugurh and it is probable the latter place is already reoccupied. Rumours are afloat of the Rohilkund mutiniers meditating an attack upon Naynee Tal, but the attempt can never be successful. The country between Cawnpore and Allahabad beyond a few miles of the river bank is still infested by bands of rebels. But recently

the town of Futtehpoore was threatened by a body in repelling whom a loss of nearly a hundred in killed and wounded was incurred, Colonel Powell of the 53rd Foot being among the former. This will continue to be the case in that part of the country until the insurgents who have fixed their head quarters at Banda are extirpated. These latter we believe, are headed by Cooar Singh, who is supported by the many petty chiefs whose forts stud Bundlekund.

The country on the north of Jaunpoore is still in a state of considerable disorganization. The Azimgurh district presents a disturbed appearance. A column under Colonel Lougder of the 10th Foot has marched against the rebels in that direction. This force will soon have the cooperation of the Goorkhas who are penetrating the country towards Goruckpoore as well as of other troops marching towards the same direction. We have had very little intelligence during the week respecting the state and prospects of the garrison of Saugor. The situation of the people there is almost as critical as that of the Lucknow garrison ever was. There are a large number of women and children, and no aid was near. The Madras column that was marching up to their relief has not been heard about for several days. They were surrounded by hosts of hostile tribes who want only courage to effectually wreak their malice. We yet hope that succours will reach them before a catastrophe occurs that may throw that of Cawnpore out of recollection.

The province of Behar is quiet. Ummur Sing yet hovers on its confines, but the daily pouring in of European troops has imparted a feeling of security to the inhabitants which is not likely to be weakened by subsequent events.

12 November 1857

THE DESPATCHES FROM DEHLI

The hopes of the disloyal have encountered a wrecker, and the grim and ghastly despatches from Dehli have fallen like a thunderbolt upon their path. There were those who conceived

Dehli to be impregnable and the fiends that lined its defences invincible. The military strength of Upper India counted only by hundreds whilst the strength of the rebels counted by ten thousands. But numbers do not win a battle, or Marathon and Salamis would not have glowed upon the page of history. The slayers of women and the murderers of children have besides two enemies, the human enemies whose desperation they have roused and the divine enemy whose laws they have outraged. The grape of the cannon and the shrapnel from the howitzer may be silenced by the grape of heavier metal and the shrapnel of mortars measuring by superior inches, but the wrath of heaven is irresistible, and Dehli fell like a modern Gomara under the combined pressure of man's determination and God's vengeance. The siege and capture of the capital of the Timours will form an instance in history of the power of science and the adamant strength of cool determined bravery. Every one of the small but devoted band that sat down under the walls of the Imperial city with the firm resolve of either storming it or dying a soldier's death upon the breach, has proved himself a hero. The general officer fought as rashly and as desperately as the lowest workman in the trenches ; and a long list of casualties tell the fearful nature of the contest on which the eyes of the whole civilised world was for more than three months anxiously turned. The defence of Dehli was as remarkable for its determination as those scientific appliances, with which Sevastopol has rendered the readers of newspapers familiar. The garrison consisted of the flower of the mutinied Regiments and of all arms. The plunder of the Dehli magazine, the largest magazine in India next to the arsenal of Fort William, had placed at its disposal an amount of arms and ammunition which might have sufficed for the conquest of Hindoostan. The heaviest siege ordnance was in the hands of the mutiniers, their besiegers were compelled to shell a walled city with such guns as the third-rate magazines of Lahore and Phillour could place at their service. The deadly season of the year at which the siege was undertaken crippled the already small resources of the British army. Its intelligence had to be forced from reluctant informers, its supplies had to be wrested from a

hostile population, its very carriages and coolies required to be improvised. Yet in the face of these difficulties, under a sun which the hardiest dared not trifle with, which disease decimating its numbers and a numerous and vigilant enemy making the heavens ring with their perpetual artillery, the Army of Retribution fulfilled its instructions to the letter, carried the rebel stronghold at every point, rendered Dehli a scene of desolation more terrible than the scene of which the enraged soldiers of Nadir Shah enacted at the same spot more than a century ago—took the puppet emperor a prisoner and chased his vast army like the stricken deer before its avenging column.

The despatches before us testify to the devoted loyalty of the native chiefs whose contingents enabled General Wilson to precipitate the storm and achieve the signal success we are now recording. Amidst the general treason which stalks abroad in the country, it is refreshing to contemplate the steady loyalty of the most influential of the native chiefs. To those who would ruthlessly extirpate the native races, the Dehli despatches will have shown that the term native is a very comprehensive term and that the Rajahs of Puttiala and Jheend and the Nabob Jhan Fishan though natives are very far from being rebels.

12 November 1857

THE REBELLION

Lucknow is relieved. On the 17th instant the palace only remained in the possession of the enemy, and it was being bombarded. The sick and wounded, who formed so large a part of the garrisons under Generals Outram and Havelock, were being removed towards Cawnpore. The greater part of the rebels have fled, probably to Fyzabad, where they will make another stand. Both Generals Outram and Havelock are safe. The Commander-in-Chief has been wounded, but so slightly that his wound does not interfere with the performance of his duties.

The intelligence of the relief of Lucknow will carry joy to the hearts of all those who marked with increasing anxiety the

extremely perilous situation of the little garrison from the beginning of June. There was, indeed, a time when all hope for their safety had been given up. The death of Sir Henry Lawrence was but the first of a series of misfortunes which befell them. And when General Havelock's first attempt for their relief proved unsuccessful, the apprehension became serious that the tragedy of Cawnpore might be reenacted at Lucknow. We know from what eminent peril the force under Generals Outram and Havelock rescued them, but even after that force had penetrated into the place, the overwhelming numbers of the enemy and the extreme difficulty of drawing supplies in a country thoroughly hostile, gave rise to serious fears respecting the safety of the whole. The relievers became themselves besieged under almost desperate circumstances.

The details of the operations by which Sir Colin Campbell became master of Lucknow will doubtless soon be officially placed before the public, and we wait for their publication before we summarise them for our readers. It is evident that the struggle was a severe one. At one single spot fifteen hundred sepoy were found killed. But it is understood that the loss of the force under the Commander-in-Chief is much less than an operation of such difficulty and magnitude might be supposed to involve. This was chiefly owing to the excellent use made of the artillery and particularly of heavy artillery. The 68 pounders which the Naval Brigade took up into the province and brought to bear on the strongholds of the rebels must have done terrible execution and aided considerably towards the speedy reduction of the place. There was a great deal....street fighting of the most determined character.

Cawnpore itself is threatened by large bodies of rebels within a few miles of it. The mutiniers of the Gwalior contingent, numbering about five thousand, are stated to be at Calpee, and two other bodies of great strength were in the same neighbourhood. The whole are declared to be under the command of Cooar Sing. The influx of European troops into Cawnpore is now however so rapid that no fears need be entertained respecting the safety of the station. Cooar Sing's brother is believed to be

still at Rhotasghur, to dislodge him whence will be a somewhat irksome task. It will, we believe, be undertaken with the clearance of the districts north of Benares. The mutiniers of the 32nd N. I. were about the early part of this month met by Captain Rattray's Seikh Corps near the Grand Trunk Road, defeated with some loss, but they managed to escape to the Soane. The Rewah territory has been quieted by the occupation of the principal pass leading to it by a body of Madras troops.

No fresh intelligence has been received from Dehli, if we except conflicting accounts of the treatment of the captive king and his sons. It is supposed that there are still bodies of armed rebels lurking in the parts of the city which still stand. The column under Brigadier Showers which was detached from the Dehli force is operating with success in the Mewatthe country south of that city, and General von Cortlandt continues in the performance of his pacificatory mission in the Hurrianah territory.

The garrison of Saugor is still without relief. No tidings have reached the public of the operations of the Kamptee column. Brigadier Whitlock's column of Bombay troops is still in the Deccan, keeping the evil-disposed troops in the region in awe, but unable to advance northwards to the assistance of either the Rajpootanah brigade or the garrisons in central India. In Marwar the rebels still defy authority. The fort of Dhar has been reduced by a body of Bombay troops.

Mutiny has reappeared in the extreme east of the empire. The three companies of the 34th N. I. at Chittagong have risen, released the prisoners in the jail, plundered the local treasury of about three lacs of rupees, possessed themselves of the government elephants, and made off probably for Dacca. The infatuation of these men is extreme. But a handful among a population from which they can derive no aid, and heaving a long tract of country to traverse before they can join the nearest of insurgents, they have assured a doom swifter than that of the generality of sepoy mutiniers. They killed none of their officers or the other residents of the station, except a Burkundauze who had resisted their taking possession of the elephants. They are evidently in communication with the detachment of the 73rd N. I. at Dacca,

but if anything of the preparedness which the authorities in Noacolly and Tipperah manifested in July and August last still remain, they are not likely to reach that city in safety. The sailors at Dacca will suffice for the protection of that place, and another body of sailors with three hundred European troops have been despatched towards Chittagong.

26 November 1857

THE REACTION

The times are rapidly rallying. Dehli has fallen ; Lucknow has been retaken ; the progress of revolt has met with a mighty and mortal check ; the cruel Nana with his heart defeated and conscience stricken is hovering here and there in quest of some safe concealment for his guilty soul ; Cooar Sing has cast his last die, the king of Dehli is a prisoner ; and the cry is fast becoming "Victory to the British Raj". Calcutta has recovered from the qualms of that convulsive fever which the fear of Colingah and Madrassa conspirators, assisted by the nightly parades of the volunteers, threw her into. Much of the anarchy and confusion which assumed their reign in the Moffussil at the opening of the sepoy disturbance has disappeared, and confidence in the permanence of the British Government is being restored to the minds of the weak-minded and little-thinking men in whom it had been shaken by the uncommon rapidity of untoward events. The financial affairs of the state have been much redressed by the fall of Dehli, and the rapid successes of the Commander-in-Chief. The Bank of Bengal, the heart of monetary transactions of this vast metropolis, is convalescent, and the flow of business has resumed much of its wonted evenness. Though our rulers have still to open a career of reconquest in by far the largest portion of the North-Western Provinces and to fight their way to order and tranquility in those parts of the country, there is in Bengal proper scarcely any vivid sight of that disorder and anarchical spirit which calls for the sword to assert British sway. If there is any latent sense of disaffection, the existence

of which we doubt, that can be easily put down by the hand of law.

A similar reaction has taken place in the state of public feeling and public opinion. Those fears which led many of our European brethren to seek the safety of their lives on board the vessels floating on the bosom of the Ganges, and to pack themselves and family into the fort has for the most part left the city, and in the dead of night is now to be heard the loud voice of hilarity and joy which was drowned for the last five months in the heavier notes of the clanging music of the volunteer's armour. The European residents of the town have left off the disagreeable habit of petitioning the Governor-General for every time the mouse stirs in their places and of praying as many times for the annihilation of those of their fellow-citizens who are unfortunately guilty of the "Crime of Colour". The ladies of Calcutta, who were before the memorable 14th of June thinking to save Calcutta in much the same glorious fashion as Rome was once saved by her women, and which sweet work they have been debarred from performing by the ungallant conduct of the daughty volunteers' now feel themselves safe. The policeman now sits with a freer soul on his watch, and muses as he opens his eyes to the gas lamp, that his occupation can never be gone. Mr. Wauchope also blesses the time which has driven to their proper cells the Bedlamites who in the dog days we were of late used to, disturbed his nightly rest and daily avocations by incessant letters in the columns of unwieldy dailies.

Public opinion has also undergone the same salutary change. Many have eschewed that rancorous and low tone which effected no noble end save the loss of reputation to those who imprudently indulged in it, and they are now ashamed of the indecency and vulgarity which they hitherto exhibited without the least compunction. The perverse thinkers who had just wisdom enough to censure plausibly now admit that, whatever the speakers on the Indian crisis may have said from their particular biases, the Government of India has displayed no want of spirit, prudence of foresight in coping with the emergency, and securing British power. They are now coming to the opinion that the policy

pursued by Lord Canning was not the worst that could be followed in such a crisis as the present, and that an unnecessary stretch of severity would lead to consequences never extremely desirable. They now declare that the authorities to whom the interests of this immense dependency are committed are equal to the times in which they have been called upon to act, and that it may not be right to fetter their course or interrupt their progress in order to restore order and establish authority.

The tide of public opinion has taken an equally different course with respect to the educated Natives and to the non-military population at large. Allowance has been made in favor of the Bengalees, who are now believed to be loyal and faithful, and whose interests are now considered to be bound up with the interests of their rulers. The comprehensive term Native has been disenchanted of the charm which made a victim of the loyal and disloyal, of the faithful and faithless, of the mutinous and obedient, under one sweeping signification. Proper limits have been drawn between the Bengalee nation and the Bengal army, and the line of demarcation that lay between these two classes of the population has been made distinct. It now remains to be seen how this reaction, which is so wholesome and natural, will work on the minds of the remaining few who still cry for indiscriminate slaughter, for the extirpation of every native, for the excommunication of every native from the pale of Government service, and for the exclusive agency of Europeans in every department of the State machinery.

26 November 1857

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND OURSELVES

For some time past the relations of this journal with the local community of Europeans have assumed a form which we for our part cannot contemplate without real pain. Not that upon the closest self-examination we find any thing that duty and justice seriously call upon us to retract or to apologise for ;

but we have somehow or other drifted ourselves into a most disagreeable position with respect to a class that has many claims on our esteem and consideration and which for the promotion of the national interests we would conciliate rather than heedlessly offend. The conductors of this journal lay aside personal questions—the sacrifices of private friendship which has been entailed upon them by the performance of what they conceive to be their duty, but they cannot shut their eyes to the fact that the motives and views of the paper have been laid open to great misrepresentation solely because it is on hostile terms with the class we have mentioned, and that its utility has run a proportionate hazard of curtailment. We remember the views with which the journal was first set up. One of its principal objects was to make known to the European community the real character and workings of native society. It was felt that much of the estrangement existing between native and European society in India was owing to the circumstance that neither properly understood the other. This misunderstanding seriously operated to the disadvantage of our countrymen. We were misrepresented and vilified. Our character was defamed and imputations the most improbable were circulated without contradiction. It was to check the circulation of those uncontradicted mis-statements that the conductors of this journal made it a point to explain, develop and lay bare to the view of its English readers, and, when occasion required, to vindicate the motives of our countrymen in all their acts that came under European criticism. This object we still have in view, and it is because its attainment would be impossible if the present relations between the European public and ourselves longer subsist that we enter into this explanation.

The ill grace into which we have fallen with the European community has manifested itself in the exhibition of sundry grave charges against this journal. The principal of these charges is the “insolence” of its tone towards the European community. This expression has obviously been selected rather for its offensiveness than for the precision with which it conveys the chief cause of complaint the European community has against us. We

are not sanguine of success in any endeavours that we may make to set ourselves right on this point. For ourselves we hold the position of this journal to be, that it is the representative of the great mass of the people and the organ of those amongst them who have a right to take and habitually do take a lead in public affairs. That a journal so accredited should in speaking of a section of the community extremely limited in number, and having the least possible interest in the welfare of the country they sojourn in, but pretensions in a high degree, point out the insignificance of the party and expose those pretensions, is equally natural and proper. We must once for all explain to our European friends that they must excuse us if we do not estimate the social or political importance of their class as they do it themselves; and if our language in speaking of them should not be uniformly so deferential as some of them desire it to be, it is because those whose organ the Hindoo Patriot conceives itself to be do not feel themselves at all inferior to the class of non-official Europeans in India in much that constitutes social and political importance. It should be remembered that, considering the nature of its constituency, the Hindoo Patriot need only present a neater appearance to the eye and to the conduct with greater ability than it now is to claim with irresistible effect its position as the first journal in India. As it is, the paper is under no obligation to speak in terms of less than national weight and authority upon all affairs affecting the public interests and upon the conduct of all handling the public interests. For a journal thus situated and with such claims to public regard, to utter its sentiments in language, however strong—provided it be within the bounds of decency and gentlemanliness—can never be justly charged as “insolence”.

We have been charged with making systematic efforts to degrade the European community. We have not willingly, and never unjustly, done it. The preposterous claims to social predominance which a large section of the class are accustomed to make call for exposure. We have known Europeans in Calcutta who think they owe it to their race and country to give to natives of respectability studiously insulting treatment. We know of a

European planter in Jessore who whips passers by that do not stop and make a salam when he makes his appearance in the streets. Great was the rejoicing the other day at Benares when a railway engineer cruelly beat a Baboo employed in the works and was acquitted and found himself ever after greeted with genuflections. There is in the general behaviour of Europeans towards natives in this country a want of manliness which would justify the worst language that we could use. We expect this censure not from the official or the professional classes. The "high life below stairs" feeling which actuates a large portion of the "services" (vide George Campbell's two books) has called for and met with the same chastisement that the model snobbism of the lower orders of non-official Europeans in India has received from us. It is Indian society, not us, that has incurred obligations of gratitude on this score.

One of the worst acts with which we are charged is our continued disparagement of the services of the volunteer bodies of Europeans who have taken up arms for the defence of their respective localities. We can assure our European friends that we never failed to appreciate the feeling which mainly contributed to the formation of those bodies, but we could not fail to perceive that they were the embodiment of a principle dangerous to the political rights of our nation. Their existence was a living proof of our political inferiority. Their existence was part of the "policy of coercion and repression" which has been held in terrorism over us since the disturbances broke out. In a community composed of various races, if one is allowed to carry arms with certain privileges to the exclusion of the others that one instantly becomes dominant and politically superior over the others. We have therefore felt it our duty to discredit the volunteer bodies by every possible means that the laws of political warfare and fair journalism allow. Argument and ridicule were the weapons we were justified in wielding. It is no fault of ours that in dealing with the volunteers we found greater scope for the use of the latter than of the former.

We have of late been honored with a slight suspicion of being a "Government organ". We decline the dignity not so much

from modesty as from prudence. We are sufficiently alive to the interests of our proprietor to have regard for the advantages that are sure to accrue from the reputation of being the favored of the salary-drawing great, but we know that four hundred pages of typography will rise in evidence against us if we were to pretend to that honor. There was a time when the Patriot was not much behind the front rank of those who opposed an unprincipled and short-sighted administration. It is no dread of press laws that makes it support a never and better minded one. We beg our European readers to understand that in the very peculiar position in which this journal stands, it often becomes incumbent on its conductors to side with the Government or with the services or the non-official community as circumstances dictate. When, as during the Charter discussions, the interests of the native community coincided with those of non-official Europeans, we fought by their side, not, as we flatter ourselves, without effect. And when, as now, we find our national interests bound up with those of the administration of the day, our duty is to render it our humble support.

26 November 1857

THE REBELLION

The rebels are making one great and combined effort—it will be their last. In Oude, although once compelled to abandon Lucknow before the avenging host under Sir Colin Campbell, they have for the time made his position untenable and necessitated his retirement upon Cawnpore. They have poured down a body towards Jaunpore which has menaced even Benares. On the south, the Gwalior mutiniers have attacked Cawnpore, and although repulsed it is evident that they are still in force. They are all acting in concert, and not without some degree of organization. It is not easy to divine what are their resources in money and ammunition but they do not seem to be yet without either. On the other hand, troops are being daily concentrated at Cawnpore. Ere many weeks elapse, an army will be there

collected that will be sufficient to chastise the insurgent bodies in every direction.

The latest intelligence from up the country describes Sir Colin Campbell as having returned to Cawnpore on the 28th ultimo with the women and children who had so long been besieged with the garrison of Lucknow. The measures adopted for the safe conveyance of the women and children and the sick and wounded appear to have succeeded admirably. We can scarcely even now review their sufferings and the dangers they have passed without a painful remembrance of the intensity of the former and the imminence of the latter. That they have not shared the fate of the Cawnpore refugees will be recorded as one of the noblest achievements of the army now in the field. It will now be the duty of the authorities to send them down towards Calcutta as quickly as possible with such precautions however, as to preclude the possibility of their being molested on the passage.

The battle fought by General Wyndham with a division of the Gwalior mutiniers does not appear to have been a decisive one ; for soon after, uniting with the other divisions, they attacked Nabobgunge near Cawnpore on the 27th ultimo. The British troops retired within the intrenchments, and in the night the rebels burnt down the camp of three regiments. The next day they attacked the intrenchments. A sortie was made with considerable success. It appears, however, that the siege was maintained until the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief ; when, it is stated that the rebels were driven out of Cawnpore and pursued towards the west in which direction they fled after losing sixteen of the guns. The road between Allahabad and Cawnpore is described to be very unsafe, being infested with mutinier sowers. In the district a police station house and a revenue office have been plundered by villagers, and general disorganization still seems to prevail.

The country on the south of Behar and the south-western frontiers of Bengal still continues in a disturbed state. The rebels in that region are chiefly undisciplined retainers of the jungle Rajahs, the mutiniers of the Ramgurh Battalion appearing

to form but a very small part of them. Though repeatedly beaten, they continue to present themselves whenever the forces of the state are withdrawn from their vicinity. A rabble under the leadership of a Dewan of the Purhat Rajah was the other day met by a company of Seikh volunteers and defeated. The Dewan seems to have had for his object the rescue of his master from the custody he is now in and was hung as soon as he was captured.

The mutiny at Chittagong seems to have had an immediate effect upon the sepoys at Dacca. So soon as intelligence of the event reached the latter town, measures were taken to disarm the detachment of the 73rd N. I. and of the native artillery at the station. At eleven in the night the outer guards were disarmed without difficulty ; but when the seamen proceeded to the lines to disarm the main body resistance was offered. The men had possessed themselves of two guns which they worked with some effect. They were replied to from two small pieces of ordnance which accompanied the seamen. Soon after, the latter charged with fixed bayonets, and 41 sepoys were killed and many wounded. The rest managed to escape towards the jungles whence probably they will endeavour to join the Chittagong mutiniers, or perhaps the head quarters of their own regiment in the hope of raising them. It is apprehended that when the head quarters of the 73rd at Julpigoree learn the fate of their comrades at Dacca they may mutiny, but the latest intelligence from that station, which, however, dates prior to the receipt there of the news from Dacca, is that the conduct of the men is blameless. The Chittagong mutiniers are said to be making their way towards Munipore where their prospects are not likely to be much improved.

In Rajpootanah, the Mehidpore rebels were dislodged from that town and pursued by a body of Hyderabad cavalry who inflicted considerable loss on them. The road between Dehli and Muttra is declared safe. The country around is gradually settling down into order, and the fears entertained of the turbulent tribes between Dehli and Kurnal are at an end. The treatment of the king of Dehli, now in prison, which was suspected to be

unduly lenient, has been ascertained to be such as his worst enemies could desire, and executions with summary severity attest the vigorous action of the powers. The country between Lahore and Mooltan which had been partially disturbed by rebellion has been nearly reduced to order, and general quiet and peace reign throughout the rest of the Punjab.

3 December 1857

WHO ARE THE REBELS

The press, both in England and in India, have latterly essayed to determine the question whether the present rebellion in India is a national outbreak or a professional movement. The question has assumed a practical importance, as on its solution will depend the whole character and aim of the future policy of the empire. So various, however, are the elements that enter into its composition and so complex is the form in which it has presented itself that the ablest minds find themselves baffled in the enquiry. No power of mere observation to form a hypothesis upon. The rebellion cannot be contemplated without the passions being roused by its incidents. The national character is ill-understood. The suddenness with which the mutinies burst over our heads shows how far from complete was our knowledge of the sepoy character. Above all, there is the almost total absence of trustworthy information respecting the actual conduct of the vast mass of the people throughout the period of disturbances.

Theories, therefore, have been as various upon this question as the circumstances in which it is imbedded. Between the Times and the Morning Post, who contend that the rebellion is nothing but an enormous sepoy mutiny, and the London Press, and the Bengal Hurkaru which describe every native of India as a rebel in thought or in deed, there are innumerable ranks of thinkers each of which draws a new line of demarkation between the loyal and the disloyal among the inhabitants of India. Truth of course must lie between, but it is difficult to detect it.

There is, nevertheless, enough of truth in both the extreme suppositions to entitle them to an analysis. Let us take the *Time's* theory first. According to that journal, it is the sepoys only who are in rebellion against the British Government in India. It is they who, grown rampant with conceits about their prowess, have endeavoured to wrest the empire from the British. It is they who for their purposes have set up a puppet of an Emperor, knowing full well that under such a master they would enjoy all the license of praetorian domination. There is in this hypothesis a measure of truth. It is certain that, howsoever disaffected other classes of the population may have been, none but the sepoys ever seriously dreamt of being able to drive the British power out of the country, and whoever has ambitiously proposed to himself the same end has calculated upon the defection of the sepoy army from its allegiance to the same power as one of the essential means. The theory, however, is rendered valueless by the facts that a strong feeling of legitimacy that had lain either dormant or concealed in the people has been brought to light by the recent occurrences, that whole tribes of the non-military population have actively joined in the rebellion, and that the worst crimes perpetrated in its course were the acts of non-military mobs. A sepoy panic followed by a sepoy revolt has merged itself into a contest between the former and the recent conquerors of India. Mogul or Mahratta, the real chiefs of the insurrection are not soldiers by profession. They propose to institute no praetorian domination. Their aim is to restore a lost empire. The sepoys who inaugurated the movement have already fallen to the back-ground, and are now become mere tools in the hands of more ambitious and intelligent men.

The opposite theory is equally untenable, but in one aspect equally plausible. There is too much truth in the saying that what one nation most hates is another, to deprive this class of theorists of their measure of credit. But when they go to the length of affirming that a majority of the Indian population has joined in the rebellion or even sympathised with the rebels they simply affirm a falsehood. The antagonism of race is an element for consideration, but there are matters more nearly affecting

men's interests and passions which under ordinary circumstances usually turn the scale against even ethnological differences. The vast majority of men are not accustomed to sacrifice substantial enjoyments and compromise the security of life, property, honor and peace, to the realization of a mere sentiment. There is moreover, one peculiarity in the mental organization of the race which mainly peoples India. The Hindoo is essentially Tory in his politics. He cannot conceive of a sovereign who can do wrong. And what for all practical purposes is more, his affections are not pre-engaged. If now he does not feel the same feeling for the House of Brunswick that he does for that of Timour, the fault, we unhasitatingly declare, is not his but of those who having had the opportunity to mould his political sentiments have thought them of too little moment. It is sheer lack of statesmanship that leaves him still a dubiously British subject in fact and far less than a British subject in feeling. Nothing has been done to impress him with the change which British conquest has effected in his status in the world. He has been left to admire the glories of Dehli and to adore its king.

Englishmen now feel the effects of this neglect, but like all others detected in fault they refuse to acknowledge its consequences. The rebellion, it is needless to blink the fact, commands the sympathy of many more Hindoos than Englishmen would like to own before the civilized world. But we dare say that far fewer Hindoos have actively engaged in it than is generally supposed. The British Government, whatever its other faults, has given the country an amount of substantial benefit which the lowest intellect can appreciate. The security of our possessions is now disturbed only occasionally by a survey of resumption law or a foolish decree of some civil court—things less dangerous than a Mahratta raid or an Affghan eruption. This the most ignorant amongst us feel. The rebellion whatever actually present has bitterly reminded our countrymen of what their ancestors suffered under another rule. Those, at least, have learnt what they have gained under British domination who have been plundered, harassed and oppressed by sepoy marauders, and they have been many. If they have not

been taught a better lesson they have unlearned much that in their imagination appeared amiable in native regnancy.

We have seen with pleasure, not merely of a patriotic kind, that one act of justice has been done by those who have been the foremost in fomenting the antagonism of races made so manifest in the insurrection. The people of Bengal, with some trifling exceptions (see for instance as Rajendrolall Mitter and the conductors of the Hindoo Patriot) have been declared even by them guiltless of sedition. As they have gained the most by British rule, they have sympathised the most with British power in its day of trouble. The interest they feel in the success of his fallen majesty of Dehli is more than counter-balanced by—if no higher motive—their grief at the increased difficulty of exporting jute. This feeling has been evinced throughout the continuance of the commotion in upper India. It were to be wished that Bengallee loyalty had been more active—by some amongst themselves, more demonstrative ; but much must be done to change the character of the people before a different result can be expected.

As yet the revolt appears to us to be a sepoy revolt, originating in a panic and in military disorganization, led by ambitions eager to carve out a path of glory for themselves, and fostered by the legitimist feeling which the British Government has done nothing to eradicate from the breasts of the people and much to strengthen by a careful prescription of "English ideas" in its scheme of Indian rule.

3 December 1857

THE REBELLION

Affairs in the disturbed provinces have assumed a better aspect than they were at the date of our last issue. It appears that the Commander-in-Chief did not leave Lucknow without leaving a garrison there. Sir James Outram continues to command in that city after General Havelock's death. The women

and children have arrived safely at Allahabad. After their release from Lucknow their safety was a matter of anxiety, notwithstanding the protecting presence of Sir Colin Campbell. The city of Cawnpore, near which they had been encamped for a few days before their departure downward, was in the possession of the rebels. It was in the face of twelve thousand enemies that they were despatched towards Allahabad.

The following telegraphic message dated Cawnpore, 7th instant, gives the latest intelligence from that quarter :

Having yesterday morning finally completed the arrangements for putting the remainder of the sick and wounded, 830 in number, in safety, the Gwalior contingent with its allies were attacked at 11 A.M. The affair ended in the complete rout of the enemy whose camp was captured, pursued for fourteen miles along the Culpee road, and we captured sixteen guns of different calibres, twenty-six battery carts, waggons, &c. besides an immense quantity of ammunition of all sorts, park-stores, gram bullocks and the whole of the baggage of the force. Our loss was insignificant, and I have not heard of the death of any officer except Lieutenant Salmond, A. D. C. to General Grant. I halt here today to reorganize the force. Lists of ordnance, c. :—One 18-pounder gun with limber, eight 9-pounder guns with limber, nine 9-pounder waggons, one 9-pounder carriage, two 24-pounder howitzers with limber, one 24-pounder, one 24-pounder waggon, one 24-pounder spare carriage, one transport cart with gun, three 18-pounder limbers, eleven stone carts, three 8-inch mortars, two 5½-inch mortars. Total—16 pieces of ordnance, 26 carriages of different sorts.

The one great difficulty which has been experienced throughout the campaign is the want of cavalry to make effectual pursuit after the enemy when routed. Dispersed and broken, by a single determined attack, they reunite with a marvellous facility and renew their operations with the energy and enterprise of fresh troops. Cawnpore has been, we hope, relieved permanently, but the country between it and Allahabad is infested by bands of rebels. At Futtehpoore, the garrison has had to retire into a fortified position before a large number of rebels. An

attack upon Allahabad is not considered an improbability. Close to Jaunpore are rebels, numbering, it is said, fifteen thousand, before whom the little force detached towards that direction has had to retire. The arrival of Colonel Franks's column will however enable these troops to resume offensive operations.

The movements of the Chittagong and Dacca mutiniers are matters of sheer conjecture. It is believed that the former have made for Sylhet and the north-eastern frontier by a jungle route on which they are safe from interruption. The latter are stated to have moved off towards the same direction, and on their way plundered Jamaulpore and Mymensing. Troops and European seamen have been sent the protection of the places most in danger from these mutiniers. A panic seems to have seized all the inhabitants, and the European ladies and children from Tipperah have been sent in safety to Dacca. The officials and European residents have generally formed themselves into parties at central places.

No fresh intelligence of importance has arrived from other parts of the country during the week. The Saugor and Nerbudah territories are still in a greatly disturbed state, and much anxiety still prevails about the safety of the Saugor garrison.

10 December 1857

RAJAH OF PUCHETE

(Correspondence)

To the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot.

SIR,—Although it appears from various reports published in public journals that the Commissioner and Government are to a certain degree displeased with the Rajah of Puchete yet it is generally known that he or any of his ancestors never proved to be disloyal. The enemies of the Rajah have found fault with him in not waiting upon the Commissioner and Tarucknauth Sein Roy Bahadoor when he was sent for and also not supplying what was required by the Government officials. Before the treasury of Purooliah was plundered there were only 80 sepoy

and whose evil intention was partially known long before this occurrence and yet the principal assistant to the Commissioner of the district did not apply to the Rajah for aid ; had he done this in time the treasury would have been saved and the sepoys been arrested. Instead of adopting any such measure the Assistant Commissioner ran up to Rogoonauthpore a place about 24 miles distant from Purooliah from whence he directed the Rajah to render assistance, but finding at this juncture all the inhabitants were to a certain degree excited, and the Coles joined the sepoys, failed to render sufficient aid. Notwithstanding and under such unfavorable state of things the Rajah assisted the Assistant Commissioner with his own palankeen and bearers to carry him down to Raneegunge. Does this conduct speak in favor or against the Rajah ? He could have easily and indirectly killed the principal assistant to the Commissioner had he entertained the least ill-feeling against the Government. Soon after this when the amlahs of the above officer failed to obtain similar assistance from the Rajah they spoke much against him before their superior and even gave out a report that no sooner the Rajah appears before the Commissioner or before his assistant he shall be instantly arrested and put into trouble. In consequence of such a report and on the Rajah's failing to render assistance to Government through his Zemindars and Ijarders, and ghutwals who although his subordinates were corrupted by the misinterpretation of the Principal Sudder Aumeen Tarruck Nauth Sein Roy Bahadoor who was deputed by the Commissioner to inform them that as their Rajah is not true to Government so they need not trouble themselves to listen to what he urges them to do, the Rajah was obliged to stay away from the call of the Commissioner and he stated all the above circumstances in his petition to the Principal Sudder Aumeen Bahadoor. Upon the face of such interference on the part of the Principal Sudder Aumeen (who being a Government officer is respected and dreaded by the people of the Sonthal district) with the subordinates of the Rajah, he assisted the Commissioner with a supply of about 200 carts, some men and Rupees 15000, but all were unfor-

tunately returned to the Rajah. The cause of the trouble of the Rajah of Puchete is more for his stupidity and evil advice of all persons whose aim is to extort money while he is in difficulty than anything else.

Yours faithfully,

December 7th, 1857.

DUTT.

The Rajah owes these troubles to his stupidity, as our correspondent remarks. Had he followed the example of the other chiefs and listened to the advice of the Principal Sudder Ameer he would like them have come off an honored subject.

ED. H. P.

10 December 1857

THE REBELLION

The last success achieved by the Commander-in-Chief was the rout and dispersion of the Gwalior Contingent before Cawnpore. Since that event, another engagement has taken place with the rebels in that quarter. A detachment under Brigadier General Grant came up with a body of the insurgents at a place named Serajghat where they were endeavouring to cross the Ganges. He attacked them instantly with his cavalry and artillery, and in half an hour defeated the enemy and captured fifteen guns with their stores and cattle. The rebels are said to have lost about a hundred men, while General Grant has lost not one, though he himself has been slightly wounded. The Commander-in-Chief in reporting this affair to the Governor General congratulates his lordship "on the happy finish of this particular campaign". We infer hence that the body of rebels defeated by General Grant was the remnant of the force that attacked Cawnpore and held possession of the town for a few days. Nana Sahib, who probably directed the operations of the Gwalior Contingent against Cawnpore, is, we suppose, now resting at Gwalior where his family must be in his father-in-law's house. What he will next attempt is uncertain. He may retire farther south and endeavour to draw a force from a

Mahrattas of Poonah, but his hopes, we believe, have been crushed by the dispersion of the Gwalior troops. The future movements of Sir Colin Campbell are matters of pure conjecture. He himself is still at Cawnpore, while Sir James Outram occupies a plain near the Allumbaugh before Lucknow with a force of more than three thousand men. A statement has been put forth that he is on his way back to Cawnpore, but it wants confirmation. The probability is that he will continue before Lucknow, until reinforced he is enabled to undertake a regular campaign against the rebels of Oude. The country between Cawnpore and Allahabad appears to have quieted down on the flight of the Gwalior contingent. That to the north of Jaunpore continues in a disturbed state. Susceptible minds even entertain apprehensions for the safety of Benares. We have had no information during the week of the doings of Colonel Loughden or Colonel Franks's columns that are operating against the rebels in that part of the country. Nor is much further known of the Goorkhah force under the personal command of Jung Behadoor than that it was expected at Bettiah. A portion of the reinforcements intended for the Commander-in-Chief has been sent forward to Benares, whence they will march to join Colonel Franks. It is evident that a part of the rebel army which infested the Lucknow residency has moved towards Goruckpore to aid Mahomed Hussain Khan. Their dispersion will, however, prove a work of no great difficulty.

Considerable success has been gained in Rajpootanah and central India. The moveable column under Brigadier Showers has penetrated into those regions. On the 16th ultimo, he met the Joudhpore Legion numbering with auxiliaries about five thousand, and defeated them, capturing six of their guns. The column sustained a loss of about seventy in killed and wounded. The Neemuch rebels were repulsed on the 21st November in an attempt to escalate the Neemuch fort, and thence they seem to have joined the insurgents of the Malwa contingent and the Mehidpore rebels at Mundessore. At the latter place the enemy was encountered by a force under Colonel Durand who routed them without much difficulty. The defeated rebels then fell

back upon their main body a few miles north of Mundessore. On the 23rd, Colonel Durand gave battle to the united force, and after a rather severe fight completely dispersed them. The people of the country across which these rebels are retreating are said to have turned upon them, and the fugitive bodies are seeking their way through hills and jungles.

The country about Dehli is described as settling down into order. Goorgaon is becoming quiet. The Mewathies are tendering their submission and praying to be allowed to return to their villages and to resume peaceful operations, promising also to pay the land revenue in arrears.

The sick and wounded and the women and children brought down from Lucknow have arrived at Allahabad by land escorted only by five hundred troops. They have been hospitably received at the latter place and provided with accommodation both in and out of the fort.

The movements of the Dacca and Chittagong mutiniers continue to excite apprehension. The former are stated to be marching towards Julpigoree, the head quarters of their regiment ; the latter are winding their way through the Tipperah hills towards Sylhet. The main body of the 73rd one said to have marched out of cantonments to chastise their mutinied comrades, a task which if they perform well will redound to their honor and the honor of their officers. The detachment of H. M.'s 54th Foot sent for the protection of the north-east frontier have probably reached Sylhet by this time. No fears are entertained of the local battalion ; and it is probable that hardship will destroy the greater part of the Chittagong mutiniers. Mymensing is safe, the Magistrate having with the assistance of Zemindars embodied a considerable lattyal force whose presence has given confidence to the inhabitants.

17 December 1857

RETRIBUTION

The licentious fury into which the press in England and India are endeavouring to lash the British soldiery forms now perhaps the greatest difficulty Government has to deal with. The feeling, so long as the excitement of the campaign lasts, will find a legitimate vent in battle. The soldiers who flung themselves across a half breached wall at the Secundra-baugh were not actuated by the ordinary motives to herosim. Revenge had entire possession of their hearts, and they longed to close with those who, they thought, have outraged the British nation. This, however, is a very different picture from the soldier mad with attack running amuck of natives in the bazar, and swearing that he is come not to obey the Government, but to revenge his country ;—and such is the type of the British soldier in India wherever he is disengaged from combat. Discipline, it is needless to blink the fact, cannot long maintain its hold over men so wrought up. Yet it is to these troops that the security, the internal security, the domestic tranquility of India, is to be for many years mainly entrusted. They are not only to be a fighting force for the protection of the country from foreign foes, but they are to be a police charged with the maintenance of the public peace. How inappropriate then to their future employment are the teachings they are being now taught ! From the Times which gently suggests “revenge in kind” to the Economist which proves that discrimination in punishment would be attended with inconvenience, almost every organ of British opinion teems with instructions to the British soldier to be as cruel as he can, and with assurances that no barbarities he may commit will bring him blame from his countrymen. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that the British Press will realize the full measure of success they are striving for ; but enough of mischief will yet be done before the British soldier in India returns to his usual soldierly demeanour.

It is one consolation to find amidst this outburst of vengeful feelings that the sentiments of the upper classes of Englishmen still continue untainted by them—and the British empire is still

governed by the upper classes. On the main course of government the press exercises but a remote influence—and it is too fickle an agent to persevere long after one object. The violence of the British Press rose to a height during the Crimean campaign. It was believed that, roused by leading articles the nation would set upon its rulers and compel them to change every part of the administrative and military system. Well, the British constitution and the British army of this day remain pretty much the same as they were in 1853. Mr. Tite in parliament has been forgotten, while the adventurous shop-boy still clamours in vain for a position which is offered with a bride to the son of the lord of a hundred able-bodied tenants. The people of India will outlive the menaces and denunciations, the maunderings and pandering of the British Press. All men distinguished in rank or intellect have repudiated the vulgar and profligate advice of that press. The premier's own sentiments may be deduced from his acts. The rest of the ministry can scarcely be of very different opinions. The Tory Chiefs are represented by Mr. Disraeli and Sir James Packington, and both have boldly condemned the cry for revenge. Another class of statesmen and thinkers is represented by Mr. Gladstone, and he deprecates the same cry. The entire body of the clergy spoke out only recently to chide the spirit of vengeance. The Press and the Saturday Review, the organ of the gentlemen and the scholars of the United Kingdom, speak on the same side. The foreign press, whether friendly or otherwise, point out the error in which the British people are being led by the British newspapers. We believe it impossible for parliament when it meets to act under these salutary influences otherwise than with good sense and moderation.

17 December 1857

THE REBELLION

Things are pretty much in status quo before the week. No fresh intelligence has been received from Lucknow before which

town Sir James Outram still maintains a no precarious hold. The Commander-in-Chief continues at Cawnpore, holding at bay the hordes of rebels dispersed by his previous operation. The districts beyond Jaunpore are still in anarchy, Sarun is supposed to be infested with rebels attached to Cooar Sing's interest.

Mr. Commissioner Yule of the Bhaugulpore division met a body of mutiniers, men of the 11th Irregular Cavalry, about a hundred in number, on the road between Purneah and Dinagepore and defeated them with fifty men of H. M.'s 5th Fusiliers and about as many sailors of the Naval Brigade under Captain Burbank. The naval brigade raised for service in Rungpore and Dinagepore have reached the former station.

At Dehli twenty-four of the inferior members of the Royal family were executed on the 20th ultimo by order of a military commission before which they were tried. Huqueem Abdool Huk, a rebel of some eminence, was executed the next day.

The battle fought by Colonel Durand with the rebels near Mundessore seems to have been a severe one. It commenced at eleven in the morning and lasted till six in the evening, and was renewed at sunrise of the following day and continued till evening. Twelve hundred dead bodies were counted on the field. Two hundred of the rebels were blown away from guns and a hundred and fifty sent to Neemuch for trial.

Some decided symptoms of insurrection have made their appearance in the southern Mahratta country. On the morning of the 6th instant, a body of rebels entered the town of Kolapore and took it by surprise. They were soon attacked and defeated with the loss of 8 in killed and 50 taken prisoners. Of the latter 36 were executed in the course of the day. The Rajah of Kolapore exerted himself for the restoration of order, and the insurrection within the town was quelled. In the villages about a thousand men collected with arms to resist the enforcement of the disarming act. About a hundred of them were killed in the engagement which ensued, and a village in which the rebels had taken up their position was burnt down.

Anxiety continues to be felt for the garrisons of Saugor and other places in central India. The Kamptee Column is not

yet reported to have come to their rescue, and the rebels must be still strong in numbers, particularly after the repulse of the Gwalior Contingent from Cawnpore.

In Eastern Bengal, the arrival of European troops at different points has restored some degree of confidence, but an encounter in Dinagepore between the Dacca mutiniers and some troops does not seem to have been successful.

24 December 1857

1857

THE YEAR 1857 will form the date of an era unsurpassed in importance by any in the history of mankind. For us who are living in the midst of those scenes which have stamped this epochal character on the year it is impossible to realize in its fullest measure the interest that will attach to it in the eyes of posterity. Our minds are too full of the incidents of the rebellion—of this siege and that massacre, the battle, the retreat, the ambuscade, mutinies, treacheries and treasons—they are far too agitated,—to receive a fair image of the present. The rebellion came upon us with a shock for which no class of the community was prepared. It has taken by surprise the country—not excepting the vast body of the rebels themselves. For eight long months it has ravaged the land in its length and breadth, spreading crime and misery of every hue and form. And when now its strength has been broken and its end has made itself visible, it bids fair to leave the nation a legacy of prolonged and yet unknown troubles.

The dawn of the year 1857 disclosed to us prospects than which more hopeful could not be conceived in the destiny of a people. The country was tranquil at home and at peace abroad. The reckless spirit of territorial aggrandisement which absorbed the energies of Government for the previous eight years had passed away. The condition of the people, the social interest of the nation, had become an object of earnest attention. A healthy political spirit characterised the proceedings of the intelli-

gent classes of the community, who were prepared and disposed to support the views of an enlightened legislature. Grand schemes of law and social reform, propounded by men of the greatest ability, were in agitation. Education, public works, and material improvements were receiving a stronger impulse than ever urged them forward. The public finances were slowly recovering from the exhaustion into which they had fallen. Plans of retrenchment had been set on foot with the best chances of success. Never did the country enter upon a new year with brighter hopes or in better spirits.

But the calculations of man are as nought in the course of Providence. We shall not presume to enter into speculations as to the causes of the mutinies. It is yet too early to determine how the sepoy mind became so strongly imbued with the idea that the Government was resolved to destroy their religion and that they were strong enough by themselves to wrest India from the hands of the British. These causes would extend over a number of years, and their examination will be the business of history, not journalism. Nor shall we enter into a narrative of events the memory of which is so terribly fresh in the minds of our readers. We may be content with nothing what effect these events have had upon national progress during the year.

First of all we have suffered in character from the effect of these mutinies. Despite multitudinous traducers, the national character of the Hindoos stood high in the eyes of the world. If we were described as superstitious we were allowed to be an intellectual people. Against our want of patriotic and military order, a whole host of virtues was allowed to be more than a set off. We have always suffered history could produce no instance of our having inflicted suffering. If an account were cast up between us and the rest of the world it would be found that the balance of benefits would be largely in our favor. There was much in our annals, institutions and literature which interested the scholar and the statesman alike ; and made cultivated men in general view our nation with eyes of really affectionate regard. For the time every sentiment of good will and respect that foreigners entertained for us is in a state of annihilation. The

atrocities which have followed in the wake of the mutinies have been truly described as unspeakable. They have been charged most untruly and unjustly to the whole nation. We shall not deny the responsibility of the mutiniers for every act of outrage which in the disorganisation caused by their mutiny became possible of commission. But we deny that the moral character of the nation is to be estimated by the acts of the felony of the country—the refuse, the dregs, the unhung scoundrelism of the population. For the time this fact, so probable, so vraisemblant is indignantly ignored ; and we are charged with, besides an unlimited capacity for crime, having deceived the world for three thousand years by concealing from it that capacity.

Along with the forfeiture of the good opinion of the civilized world we have incurred another loss, if not equally great, more closely affecting our interests. For the time, the estrangement between the native races and the mass of the English people has become complete. We are objects not merely of suspicion ; we have become objects of the bitterest hostility. Our British fellow-subjects firmly believe that we have embarked in a contest the aim of which is their extermination. Extravagant as this belief is, it is too momentous in its consequences to be ridiculed. With their aid we have secured many substantial benefits. The time had just come when by more intimately commingling our interests with theirs we were about winning many more. The commencement of the year saw our countrymen in hot contest with their British fellow-subjects for the acquisition of equal laws and equal rights. There was some bitterness in the contest, but there were the very best chances of success in our favor. The object once gained, the quarrel would have speedily faded from memory, and a community of interest would have engendered feelings that would have completely washed away the bitterness and soothed the antagonism of race. The mutinies have made coalition for a time impossible, and reconciliation a thing of distant hope.

Our second great loss has been in the item of civilization. For a time, and that we fear no short a time, our path of social progress is completely barred. We cannot mend a barbarous or

a cruel or an irrational custom, however large the majority anxious to do it, if the reform be one to need the aid of the law. The Widows' Marriage Act is an instance to prove the advanced position which the legislature had taken in respect to social matters. A law to restrain polygamy was on the tapis and merely awaited a few formalities to have effective penal force throughout the country. Other abominations live which it were unpatriotic to expose to the gaze of idle curiosity. All these have gained a long lease of existence. All hopes of their extirpation lie for the time dashed to the ground. The legislature stands committed to a policy of inaction so as regards them. It may give us good courts of justice, unexceptionable judicial procedure, and well-framed systems of taxation ; but to draw out and destroy evils that are eating into the very core of social morals and happiness, our legislators have become—owing to the mutinies alone—utterly powerless.

The extent of purely political loss that the mutinies will have inflicted upon the country yet remains to be estimated. Those aspirations after equality with the most favored of the Sovereign's subjects which so justifiably animated our political efforts now seem vain and extravagant. The authorities themselves have given way to the pressure of the times, and succumbed to influences which are yet to attain their fullest development. The Directors have already countermanded the enactment of a law sanctioned by the approval of the greatest jurists and statesmen of the age, that should place the Briton and the Bengalee upon the same footing in the eye of the law. That is but a sample of what possibly may yet be in store for us. It may yet be our lot to be trampled upon, to be thrown into the lowest stage of political existence that a conquered nation can be held down to, to be made to hew wood and draw water for conquerors who shall be our oppressors, to expiate in one long noviciate of serfdom sins not our own. These are gloomy forebodings, but the most sanguine when he marks the temper of the times cannot help now and then giving way to them.

All material improvement is for the present at a halt. Our railways instead of progressing have been partially destroyed. The

electric telegraph which this time last year flashed messages across a continent now lies mangled and torn. Irrigation and roads, works of utility and of ornament, schemes intended to succour and raise famished millions, have all been abandoned in the struggle for self-preservation. The heavy loss of life and property, and the heavier loss which insecurity and terrorism may yet occasion, remain to be counted. Computation is baffled in the attempt to determine the amount of physical suffering and sacrifices that the rebellion will have cost the natives of India.

The list might be prolonged had the need been. But the painful task has become superfluous owing to the very universality of the suffering which prevails. There is not one among the inhabitants of this continent who, if not labouring under the mania of insurrection, does not feel and deplore in body, mind or estate its consequences. Generations of our countrymen will yet have to bear a share of the same sufferings. From contemplations like these we are driven for consolation to the immutable laws of Providence. The man of true historic faith sees in every event a stepping stone for society to advance by in the path of progress. All is for the best. The Indian rebellion with all its horrors cannot be exempt from the operation of the historic law. And the year 1857, commemorated in characters of blood and fire, is probably destined to usher in an era of unexampled progress and happiness for a tenth of the human race.

31 December 1857

THE REBELLION

The tide of insurrection is fast ebbing, but is not yet exhausted. A wave here and a wave there still mark the violence of its flow. A number of official despatches connected with the operations of the forces have been given to the public during the week, and they tell tales of scarcely less heroism than that which has given immortality to the defenders of Lucknow. How Gene-

ral Havelock fought his way up to that garrison, what General Outram did when he reached that forlorn post of danger are now before the public. The reverse suffered by General Wyndham is now understood to be the inevitable result of a collision between armies the one of which outnumbered the other in the proportion of nineteen to one. Sir James Outram is still encamped in the Alumbaugh before Lucknow. The enemy came out but once to attack him, and had to retire with the loss of a good many killed and some guns captured. The Commander-in-Chief is preparing for a move upon Futtygurh, whitherwards columns of the Dehli force are also marching. There is every hope that the road between Agra and the Lower Provinces will soon be cleared.

Despatches have been published detailing the operations of the brigades detached from Dehli southwards and northwards. Their progress has been one continued series of successes against bodies of rebels. One of them will enter Rohilkund, and through that province enter Oude by its western frontier. The official record of some of the services rendered by the first detachment of Goorkhah troops sent from Nepal has also been published. The detachment under the command of Colonel Puhlwan Sing engaged the rebel forces of Mehudee Hosain, the man who has set himself up for Nazim of the King of Oude in the district of Sultanpore, at two places named Koodhooa and Chanda, beyond Jaunpore, towards the latter end of October last, and defeated them with great loss. In the second of these engagements the enemy mustered nearly five thousand and had five guns, while the Goorkhah force was only eleven hundred in number. Four of the guns were captured with large quantities of stores. The capture of one of those guns was effected by an act of heroism which to use the words of the Governor-General, "has seldom or never been supposed". Lieutenant Gumbheer Sing rushed on a gun worked and defended by seven of the enemy cut down five of them and wounded the others who ran away. The Lieutenant came off with eight sword cuts on his body. A brigade formed under Brigadier General Franks operates in the direction of

Jaunpore, while the Goorkhah force under Jung Behadoor cooperates by way of Segowlie. Oude is thus threatened on several distractions at once.

In the east, the Dacca mutiniers were met in the district of Dinagepore by some European troops who were obliged to retire after a demonstration owing to disadvantages of ground. The Irregular Cavalry that deserted from Julpigoree are hemmed in all sides in Rungpore district. The Chittagong mutiniers were met by the Sylhet Local Battalion, whose commanding officer, Major Byng, fell in the ensuing engagement, but who completely routed the mutiniers.

Saugor seems to have been unrelieved to the date of the latest advices. The Deccan field force is engaged in clearing the tracts about the Nerbuddah. The fight at Mundessore appears to have totally disorganized the rebels in that district. The Kamptee column, of which so much was expected has not been heard of during the week.

31 December 1857

THE BENGALEE AS A CITIZEN

We have said in our last issue that the antagonism of race between the European Community and the native inhabitants of India is daily becoming more marked and deep. The Dacca News affords one more confirmation of this melancholy fact. It denies the right of the Bengalee as the subject of the Queen in India and as the citizen of the country which has given him birth. The Bengalee is born a "slave" and must remain such to the end of his days, not numbering of course, "three score years and ten" but covering a period till the nation is at once annihilated. We really regret much that things have taken so deplorable a course with regard to the millions of India. There is nothing like good feeling and community of interest. Where the principle of existence is difference, jealousy and mutual discord, the country is not unfrequently a prey to disturbances in its material prosperity and to gross misrepresentation and loss.

Antagonism between the different sections of the community the promotion of whose common welfare should be the highest object of every sound policy, serves but to give opportunities to those for the execution of their inimical end whose interest and delight it is to thwart the object indicated. Our European brethren ought to bear in mind that whatever the pleasures they may derive from pursuing a course of hostility to the mass of the population, they shall certainly fail in their insane desire and shall have perhaps to repent of their rashness and hostility when the violence of the season will have passed away, and the coolness of reflection will have resumed its sway. They know we believe that the fundamental principle of the government of this country held by England, viz. that India should be governed for India is universally acknowledged by Englishmen who have paid any attention to the affairs of their eastern empire, and however may their feelings be galled by the exaggerated account of the disloyalty of the main portion of the population diffused by a discontented body of European adventurers, that principle shall never be forgotten. The rights of the Bengalee as a citizen cannot and shall not be ignored. We have at last studied politics to some purpose to understand that political rights involve political duties. But we know of no instance in which the Bengalee demanding political rights have refused to perform the corresponding duties. It is as much his duty to support the State in which he seeks protection for his person and property as it is right to enjoy the protection without disturbance. He pays rent to government and he receives in return police protection. Taxation is the duty to the discharge of which he never objects when he sees that adequate advantage is gained or commensurate right acknowledged. Perhaps this is not the time to go through the catalogue of duties he has to perform as a member of the vast community owing England's sway in this country, and of the corresponding rights he is and should be allowed to enjoy in lieu. But we cannot bear the assumption that the Bengalee has done nothing to vindicate his claim to the citizenship he aspires after. It is a gross

perversion of fact to say that the inert existence of the Bengalee is a source of mischief rather than of any good to the society of which he is a component part. The Bengalee has spent much in the cause of education and the moral elevation of his countrymen. The history of the many independent private schools in Calcutta and in the mofussil and the mere existence of that proud monument of Rammohun Roy's memory, namely the Brahmo Sumaj, the useful labours of which institution are destined to effect a revolution the results of which shall not fall in grandeur short of the consequences of the Lutheran reformation in Europe,—these unfold a tale to the truth and importance of which our contemporaries must submit. To justify our conclusion we shall give the opinion of the highest authority of the State than whom few have had better opportunities to form a true and sufficient conception of the doings of our countrymen or to judge of the important part they perform in the drama of Indian progress and civilization. In that magnificent document, the Governor-General's reply to the address of the native community, his Lordship says that Bengal boasts "of men of cultivated intelligence who have been foremost in measures of beneficence, in the encouragement of education, and in works of material public improvement, men whose influence with their fellow countrymen is deservedly great and whose interest in the peace and well being of India it would be difficult to exaggerate." This graceful and eloquent acknowledgment of the services of our countrymen to their common country, recorded by the Chief of the administration, will we hope silence all those idle clamours and absurd complaints raised by a miserable section of the community against such benefactors of India. Let us ask, are these the men who should be treated like slaves and be left as slaves till it pleaseth God to extirpate the race? Certainly Europe must be a grand blunder, modern progress as anomaly, Christianity a sham and fiction, and England a misnomer if the world is to be governed hereafter by men who use such language. But the future of India is clear. The Bengalee will not remain a slave. He is strong enough, if

not in body, still in mind and knowledge to assert his right of citizenship among the confused nationalities of India. Let the foolish declaim and the hungry low, but he knows well his own business and shall never forget it till he changes his color. He may be abused as he is envied,—he may be opposed as he is cried down—he may be insulted—as he is already insulted but nothing will change his resolution, nothing and short of a miracle can. They would go in for the word “forward”, and until this law is altered or stopped in this part of the globe, the Bengalee will rise and rise till the summum bonum is attained. The work is simple though it be a question of time.

31 December 1857

FRIEND OF INDIA

RETROSPECT OF 1856

During the year of 1856, the echoes of the Russian war have been ringing through the Empire. Russian movements have been the events most minutely described by our penmen. Throughout the year 1856, rumours of a Russian advance through Central Asia were repeated with an ever increasing accuracy of detail. They were at first almost universally disbelieved. The community had satisfied itself that a Russian invasion was impossible. The rumours nevertheless became more and more distinct.

During the year, another marked change has taken place in our relations with native Princes. They have lost their last stronghold, the prejudice in their favour of the English middle class. The English middle class had a fixed idea that India had been won by fraud. The Governor-Generals were tyrants, the Princelings the oppressed victims of a dominant caste. The growth in Europe of a stricter international law, a law ... which assumes that conquest is wrong because it is impossible, favoured the presumption.

For all these, the absorption of specie into India continued to excite attention. The rapid increase of exports, and the large payments into the India House of Railway account have contributed to increase the demand.

The action of the Legislative Council has been somewhat remarkable. At first it appeared that the reform was premature, that the sacerdotal order would prove stronger than the law, and the widows still be considered the outcasts of society. A beginning however was made. The official pundits brought their weight to bear on the side of morals, and a Koolin Bramhun and a Koolin Kayust, both of good social standing, broke through

the custom of centuries. In the former instance the ceremony was numerously attended ; the officiating priests were not excommunicated, and perpetual widowhood ceased to be an institution of Hindooism.

Late in December 1856 Mr. Grant introduced the most important law yet proposed to the Legislative Council. Ever since the Permanent Settlement, the objects of that measure have been impeded by one great defect. It was intended to create a real proprietary right in the soil. The proprietor who introduced improvements was to reap the benefit. If in the natural progress of society, his land became more valuable, he was to grow richer, as the Peers of England have grown richer from the same cause. At all events whatever might happen, the principle of fixed tenure, the root of all order, and almost of all progress, was to be introduced. The end, as far as the Zemindars are concerned, seems to have been attained. The imperfection in the leaseholder tenure is that all their holdings are dependent on the solvency of the landlord. They became a tenant-at-will and found nothing. It will remain for all time to come, an object to which the efforts of reformers in Bengal will be steadily directed.

Entire the year, three Codes have been under consideration by the Legislative Council. Of the three, only one has been actually proposed in the Legislative Council during the year.

1 January 1857

THE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA IN 1855-56

The Government of India issued orders to every Governor and Lieut to send an annual Report throughout the Empire. This document was to contain the history of his administration for the year, an account of every improvement, a description of every reform, a sketch of the policy the writer hoped to be able to adopt. It was believed that it would bring much of the information. But the volume before us contains the reports for the Regulation Provinces, and we are bound to say they will

disappoint the expectation of the public. This Blue Book tells us, Oude may never have been annexed and Lord Dalhousie may never have reigned, yet it professes to record the acts of the Government of India. During the year, the Military Department did nothing except arrange gardens for the soldiers. For the rest the reports are not without a special value of their own.

Thus the Report from the Finance Department informs us that new systems of account have been established in the department of public works, in the Post Office, in the Stud, in the Commissariat, Ordnance and Clothing Departments, and in the mofussil stations of Bengal.

The report of Public Works is partly occupied with changes which are now matters of history. And this is all which the Government of India has for its own part to record. Our own Retrospect published at the beginning of the year, shewed that it had done much more than is here set down. We can hope that next year this excessive reserve may be avoided and the mode will obtain a public recognition of its efficiency.

19 February 1857

THE MUTINIES

The temper of the Native Army is becoming the question of the day. There mutinies in as many weeks might try the nerve even of a government which, unlike ours, could rely on the national spirit of its soldiery. The last affair at Vizianagram appears to us even more important than the similar occurrences in Bengal. The Bengal sepoy is a high caste man. His caste is his point of honour. The blunder about the pigs-fat affected him as an order introducing the lash would affect an army of Frenchmen. It was easy therefore to believe that discontent arose from temporary and exceptional causes, that the storm once faced would speedily pass away. The mutiny at Vizianagram will give a shock to many of these pleasant theories. The Madrassesees have no caste. They have apparently no dread of being turned into Christians, no undercurrent

of religious fanaticism to impel them. Yet the conduct of the 1st M. N. I. was at least as much opposed to the first principles of Military discipline as that of the Nineteenth. The 1st M.N.I. were ordered to relieve another Regiment at Kurnool. Sufficient carriage for their wives and families was not forthcoming, and it was proposed to leave them behind. The men distinctly refused to march without their families. The Colonel's harangue was met with shouts of derision, and a sepoy placed under arrest was released to avoid a rescue. The Brigadier immediately proceeded to the parade, and the men with much difficulty were persuaded to march for a mile beyond the station. There they wait till carriage can be obtained.

In other words, the men of the 1st Regiment M. N. I. have succeeded in dictating at what hour, and in what manner, and with what amount of impediments they shall march on service. A more distinct and overt act of mutiny was never committed. The Madras Athenæum, admitting the magnitude of the offence still attempts to extenuate it by saying the sepoys would have marched cheerfully against a foe. They knew the order was not emergent. We refuse absolutely to recognize a distinction which would turn every regiment in the Army into a debating club. Every order is an order on service, whether the command be to charge an enemy or to pipeclay trousers, and the one is as little open to remonstrance as the other. "To compel them to march without their baggage and families was an arbitrary stretch of power, as oppressive as uncalled for." That statement deserves only a flat denial. The women and children were not left unguarded. They were not left to starve, like the wives of our own countrymen at Hyderabad. They were not even left for any length of time. The hardship was no greater than that to which every European officer submits over and over again without a murmur. Even if it had been, it is not necessary to remonstrate, even in civil life, with "shouts of derision". The act was one of simple mutiny, and should have been punished as such on the spot. The Athenæum says there were only six officers present and no force at hand sufficient to compel obedience. There is force in the Presidency, we presume, and the clear duty of the

officers was to apply for that force, desist from their orders without withdrawing them, and on the arrival of assistance employ it unrelentingly. We do not blame them individually. We have pointed out below a cause for their hesitation other than ignorance of their duty, but we do blame those who even in philanthropy attempt to spread false ideas of their responsibility among our officers. Immediate obedience or instant death is the only rule by which armies of aliens are or can be held together. The Athenæum says, "It will now be pretty well known in the Native ranks, that they have only to refuse en masse to go where or when they are ordered, to ensure their wishes being complied with." Not so, if one trace of the nerve which built the Empire remains in its Government. The time for concession to soldiers is nearly passed away, and regiments in mutiny en masse must find instead of "compliance", cannon. We are no advocates for a brutal violence which is more frequently produced by panic than by that calm severity by which alone armies can be ruled. We have approved the delay which has occurred in terminating the Berhampore affair. But none the less do we recognise the fact that the implicit obedience of sepoys is our necessity, that it must be secured even though we are compelled to resort to a more than Roman discipline. We do not believe our present Government, cautious and even slow as it has been, will shrink from that sad necessity, or that it will permit disobedience to assume the character of an epidemic. There is no measure however terrible in which they will not now be supported by the opinion of the public.

We alluded last week to the effect of our system of staff employ so strongly manifested in these emeutes. The disturbance at Vizianagram furnishes another illustration. The complement of officers, nominally twenty-two, was in reality only six. Of these only four were in the ranks, and of them one was a lad who had not passed his drill. The Regiment was in fact a regiment of irregulars with these important differences. The commandant was not a young man. He possessed no power in the Regiment. He was not supported by his native officers. And this, too, in a Presidency where the

discipline of a native corps approaches in strictness to that of a European Regiment.

The occurrence, like that at Berhampore, has brought out one more fact, which ought to be recognized and removed at once. Our officers do not know how far their responsibility extends. They cannot be certain whether in ensuring obedience by force they will receive an earnest support. They are afraid of responsibility, of stepping even for an instant over the routine. They know perfectly well that discipline is to be maintained. Col. Mitchell knew it when he ordered out the artillery at Berhampore. They shrink from no personal danger, but they dread the civil risk, the disfavour of Government, the possible loss of promotion or command. This doubt ought at once to be removed by a formal order to the troops. Such an order, announcing distinctly the duty as well as the right of every officer to compel obedience, would not be without its effect on the sepoys. They have no especial grievances. There is no trace in all these movements of a leader, or a cause, or a combined plan. They are simply obeying one of those capricious impulses which spring up among idle men, conscious that the control over them has relaxed, and craving for excitement of any kind. It is only weakness which can make that impulse dangerous, and an order such as we have suggested would be accepted as evidence of strength. No measure of this kind, we are well aware, will remove the true source of the difficulty. But it will at least enable us to make full use of the strength we have, and relieve our officers of an indecision which is almost as injurious as actual weakness. For the rest, if we would retain our Army as a body of men competent for other than police duties, the staff system must be reformed.

The best officers are selected for staff employ. They are selected from interest, one because he once lived next door to a Governor-General's aunt, another because he killed quail by the dozen for a Commander-in-Chief's third course. But the best men are all left. They merely shew that the best men in the Army are the most discontented. It will not venture to deny that every officer hungry for staff employ, thinks he ought to

obtain it, regards his residence with his regiment as a grievance rather than a privilege. That is the effect of which we complain, not an imaginary paucity of intellect in the ranks. While the highest object of a soldier's ambition is to cease to be a soldier, there can be no true soldiership.

26 March 1857

THE MUTINIES

The 19th N. I. have been disbanded. With a cold confidence which of itself indicated strength, the Government of India had resolved that the sentence should be inflicted in the presence of the very men suspected of disaffection. The Regiment was accordingly ordered to Barrackpore, where it arrived on the 31st March. Meanwhile every precaution that prudence could suggest to strengthen the hands of the General in command had been adopted. H. M.'s 84th had been brought up from Burmah. A wing of H. M.'s 53rd had been marched up from Calcutta. A troop of Madras Artillery on its way to its own Presidency was detained at the station. A second troop had been ordered from Dum Dum. The body guard was also on the spot, and in fact every soldier in the Presidency who could be spared from actual duty was present on the parade. The Europeans and native artillery were drawn upon one side, the four native regiments opposite, and the 19th marched into the centre, and General Hearsey was given an order which read at the head of every Regiment, Troop and Company in the Service.

The arms were piled, and the colours were deposited with them, but the uniforms were not stripped off. Government while punishing mutiny with sternness refrained even from the appearance of vindictive feeling. Their pay was then delivered, while the Major General addressed the men of the Brigade. The 19th were then enveloped by Cavalry and marched to Chinsurah, where they will remain until the arrival of their wives and families. The regiment was most submissive, and the lesson is believed to have been severely felt by the remainder of the troops.

We cannot believe that the warning so public and so impressive will be disregarded by the Native Army. Throughout, the policy of Government has been clear, temperate, and decided. There has been no panic, no haste to punish, no descent from severity to bloodthirstiness. The men were fairly heard, fairly tried, fairly condemned. They were marched at once into the only station where they could hope for active sympathy, and there subjected to the highest secondary punishment known to our military law. Those who talk lightly of disbandment forget what it implies to native soldiers. To the native officers and the older sepoys it means immediate and total ruin. The labours of a life are thrown away. From a position which gives them among their own countrymen sufficient wealth and high social status, they sink into tillers of the soil. The younger sepoys may possibly re-enlist, but even they have lost years of service, all the position they had previously earned. Even they must cross India without means, enter an army in which caste is lightly regarded, and in which men achieve commissions not by seniority, but success. It is however the manner rather than the extent of the sentence which lends it its peculiar force. The men were punished in the centre of their comrades. The Government with a wise forbearance spared their lives. But every sepoy there knew that a movement, a shout, any one overt sign of sympathy, would call down a terrible retribution, that General Hearsey had his orders in his pocket, and that General Hearsey is accustomed to carry out his instructions. They were taught that the Government which passed over their offences could crush as well as spare, that even in physical force, the last resort of mutiniers, they were not matched by the defenders of the law. The order read at the head of every regiment will convince the sepoys, that if "their obedience is our necessity" it is also theirs.

The whole action of Government, the trial at Berhampore, the three weeks' delay, the calm preparation, the abstinence from blood, indicates their determined policy. It is not one of mere violence. Their officers are openly and decisively supported. Every Colonel is enabled to secure from his soldiers that

obedience which is his due, and which they have sworn to afford. No mercy will be shewn to those who on Sunday last refused to assist their officers in the arrest of an assassin. But he is nonetheless forbidden to mistake hurry for vigour, to consider that bloodshed is the first corrective for discontent, to believe that physical force can compensate in the eyes of his superiors for the absence of force of character. He must secure obedience, but he is not to forget that to employ one arm against another, Europeans against natives, is a course only to be justified when the circumstances are extreme. There is perhaps at this moment in the Army too great a tendency to distrust, to believe that there is a "bad spirit" in the men only to be exorcised with blood. That is not the policy of the Government of India. But commanding officers must remember that the fact which averts a mutiny is as commendable as the energy which crushes it, that their first duty is to enforce, not coerce obedience, that premature menaces may produce outbreaks which spring not out of mutiny, but despair. In all cases, a calm well-weighed severity will be more efficacious, as it will be better received, than a hasty impulsive "vigour".

We hope that some extra precautions will be adopted to compel the disbanded to return Northward.

2 April 1857

THE PUNISHMENT FOR MUTINY

The position of the Governor-General is however with regard to military affairs, a very anomalous one. On the first report of disaffection in Bengal it was the duty of the Commander-in-Chief to hasten to Calcutta, and initiate the measures to be taken to make easy and no one grudges such enjoyment to the seniors of the service, but emergency sometimes calls on the old as well as the young, and the present head of the Indian army is not entitled to claim exemption from the common lot of soldiers. We hope we are not doing him injustice in imputing the delay that has occurred in dealing out what is called 'severe

punishment' to mutiniers, to his personal inactivity. We should indeed be sorry to hear that it was owing to his deliberate counsels. Clearly enough the native army requires better guidance, and it will be wise to provide at once the indispensable material.

14 May 1857

AMERICAN VIEW OF THE SEPOY MUTINIES

The English public have entirely misunderstood the nature of the crisis, the Americans have, with their usual aptitude, at once seized the idea of the rebellion. They foresaw from the receipt of the intelligence, not of the massacre at Meerut, but simply of the spirit which animated the 19th and 34th regiments, that it was no common movement which was about to take place in India. They divested the matter from the semi-religious cloak which it wore, and ignoring greased cartridges and missionary subscriptions perceived that the denouement of a conspiracy planned with consummate skill perhaps for many years past was at hand. That the English empire in India was founded upon military prestige rather than upon the goodwill of the governed, they assumed as an axiom; and foresaw that anything which tended to shake the foundation would cause the super-structure to totter. One would have thought that the matter was simple enough, and that any man of ordinary experience would have at once seen through the flimsy pretext of the cartridge, which including both Mussulman and Hindoo was too evidently the work of design rather than the spontaneous growth of earnest men anxious for the religion in which their forefathers had been brought up, and which was interwoven with their very existence as a nation. If the movement had its foundation in religious bigotry the Hindoo could not under any circumstances have coalesced with the Mussulman whom he has ever regarded as his natural foe. But the truth is, that for many years past the religious prejudices of the natives have been a

perfect bugbear to the English. It has been instilled into the minds of Englishmen by every class of men ; by statesmen and warriors, by Civil Servants and Adventurers that the races of Asia were so rigidly attached to the chains of their superstitions, that any nation which attempted to interfere would infallibly lose, and deservedly so, any power which they might possess over the millions of Hindoostan. The fate of the Portuguese and the failure of the proselytising institutions at Goa were held up as a warning, until it became part of our creed, that the absolute maintenance of caste and of all its concurrent evils was essential to the duration of our power. It is then hardly to be wondered at, if on the first outbreak of rebellion we considered it solely in its religious aspect and thought that the goodwill of those under our rule would return by the removal of all possible ground of complaint, and the reiterated assurance that the religion of the natives was not to be interfered with, either by cartridges or by missionaries, or in any other way. But in process of time we began to feel that the natives were well aware of our erroneous supposition of their religious earnestness, and intended to take advantage of our mistaken notion. The stalking horse however soon played its part, and was thrown aside as worthless ; though not until the armed men which it had concealed were let loose on the country. Self-created Rajahs and unpatented Bahadoors quickly made their appearance, and the dream was dispelled. It was found that these men were the master spirits of the rebellion, and that the mass of the people had discovered murder and plunder too congenial to their tastes to be given up, even when the sham under which they had been commenced was seen through. The Americans on the other hand had no such notions ; they had no Court of Directors to play upon their credulity, and using that they had neither surrendered to the keeping of another or swathed up in swaddling bands until it could not even look forth, predicted that a strike was to be made for the empire, and that the Centenary of Plassey, the era of the occasion when the British supremacy had been decided, was to witness another struggle, not with undisciplined hordes but with men who had been trained to fight in our wars

and had been equipped from our treasury. We do not give the Americans any credit for extraordinary acuteness, but we say that approaching the subject without any of that diffidence which is too common amongst the people of England, they were the first to discover the reality, and the cause of the danger. But we do not agree, neither we think do the American people at large either with the ill-concealed tone of exultation which it breathes. America has quite sufficient to occupy all its attention for many years to come without meddling in Asiatic politics or endeavouring to open out impossible routes to traffic with China, and on the eve of a struggle between the pro and anti slavery parties can but too ill afford to provoke the indignation of Great Britain by causing her any embarrassment at the present crisis.

23 July 1857

LORD ELLENBOROUGH AND THE CAUSE OF THE MUTINIES

In February 1842 Lord Ellenborough, was greeted in Madras roads by the disastrous tidings from Afghanistan, he observed that bad as the news was, he expected something still worse. The something still worse was a mutiny of the army, and that which overshadowed the termination of his career has again directed the eyes of all England upon him. It never could be supposed that the man who fifteen years ago had dreaded a spirit of insubordination in the army as the worst evil that could befall India should, when the time had arrived for such forebodings to be realised, have ignored the danger.

The administration of Lord Canning has been attacked at point where it is the least vulnerable and the Governor-General has been accused of folly for treading in the footsteps of Bentinck, Hastings and Dalhousie. Though the House if they had reflected for a moment would have discovered the fallacy of the assertion, known but to few even of the Europeans, should have in a moment called forth a mutiny in places so widely separate as Barrackpore, Berhampore and Meerut; yet led away

by the genius of Lord Ellenborough, most agreed with the Marquis of Lansdowne when he asserted that if "Lord Canning had so acted as to give countenance to such a belief as the Noble Earl inferred, he would no longer deserve to be continued in his office as Governor-General of India." Though with all candour we acknowledge the abilities of Lord Ellenborough yet the antitheses of his character are as startling as the antitheses of his speeches, and in the very discreetness which he was advocating, he shewed that indiscreetness which he would have avoided. A mischievous tendency they have had and the policy which dictated them if put in practice the result would be most lamentable.

23 July 1857

LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE MUTINIES

Men to whom Lord Dalhousie's smile was sunshine for the day are decrying motives too high for their appreciation. Others who base reputations on the relics of his plans doubt "if his policy were absolutely sound." We are not concerned to defend Lord Dalhousie personally. Impatience is the attribute of weakness, and he and we can wait till the lampooners find it time once more to change their tone. Nor do we greatly care to defend his policy, albeit identical with our own. That policy has survived alike the weak and the strong, Vansittart and Lord W. Bentinck, Lord Auckland and Lord Dalhousie. It will survive Lord Canning. God is not dead, because the Press is in irons, and the ultimate triumph of those broad ideas is as inevitable as the victory of good over evil, of truth over falsehood, of Great Britain over Young Bengal. And when his power to help or hurt is over, and the men he made are shrinking from his side, we repeat as unhesitatingly as of old our confidence in his wisdom.

29 October 1857

NANA SAHEB ON THE MUTINIES

The Lahore chronicle publishes the following "proclamation" by Nana Saheb :—

"It has been ascertained from a traveller, who has lately arrived at Cawnpore from Calcutta, that previously to the distribution of the cartridges for the purpose of taking away the religion and caste of the people of Hindoostan, a council was held, at which it was resolved that, as this was a matter of religion, it would be necessary to employ 7,000 or 8,000 Europeans and to kill 50,000 Hindoostanees, and then all Hindoostan would be converted to Christianity.

A petition to this effect was sent to Queen Victoria, and the opinion of the council was adopted. A second council was then held, to which the English merchants were admitted, and it was agreed that, to assist in carrying out the work, the same number of European soldiers should be allowed as there were Hindoostanee sepoy, in the event of any great commotion arising the former should be beaten. When this petition was perused in England 35,000 European troops were embarked in ships with the utmost rapidity and despatched to India. Intelligence of their despatch was received in Calcutta, and the gentlemen of Calcutta issued orders for the distribution of the cartridges. Their real object was to make Christians of the army under the idea that, when this was done there would be no delay in Christianising the people generally. In the cartridges the fat of swine and cows was used. This fact was ascertained from Bengalees who were employed in making the cartridges, one of these men was put to death, and the rest were imprisoned. Here they were carrying out their plans. Then the Ambassador of the Sultan of Constantinople at the Court of London, sent information to the Sultan, that 35,000 English troops were to be despatched to India to make Christians of that country. The Sultan sent a Firman to the Pasha of Egypt to the effect that he was colluding with Queen Victoria, that this was not a time for compromise, that from what his Ambassador sent it appeared that 35,000 English soldiers had

been despatched to India to make Christians of the people and soldiers of that country ; that there was still time to put a stop to this ; that if he was guilty of any neglect in the matter, what kind of a face would he be able to show to God ; that that day would one day be his, since if the English succeeded in making Christians of the people of Hindoostan, they would attempt the same in his country. On the receipt of this Firman of the Sultan the Pasha of Egypt, before the arrival of the English troops, made his arrangements and collected his troops at Alexandria, for that is the road to India and on the arrival of the English Army, the troops of the Pasha of Egypt began firing upon them with cannon from all sides, and destroyed and sank the ships, so that not a single Englishman of them remained. The English at Calcutta, after issuing the order for biting the cartridges, and the breaking out now spreading of this mutiny and rebellion, were looking for assistance from the Army coming from London, but God, by the exercise of his Almighty power, settled their business there, when the intelligence of the destruction of the Army of London was received, the Governor-General felt great grief, and beat his head."

That audacious rigmarole is a valuable contribution to the history of the rebellion. It proves that the terror of forcible conversion, so often pleaded by the mutiniers, was in fact excited, if excited at all by native conspirators. It will be seen that Nana Saheb make no allusion to Missionary efforts, no reference to the laws of civilization. He knew that any attempt of the kind would be discredited even by the most ignorant of his followers. He simply invents a lie with a circumstance, a lie which as no one could by possibility confirm, so no one of those he addressed could peremptorily deny. And this we believe to have been throughout the policy of those who must have organized the rebellion. They used the one terror which would unite Mussulmans and Hindoos, as a lever, and to excite it forged the preposterous story inserted in the "proclamation".

The Government of India has repeatedly and formally denied any attention of conversion. Nana Saheb either believes those

denials or he does not. If he does not, the proclamations have failed of any effect whatever. If he does, they have failed to restrain his impudence of assertion. The effect produced on him and on his countrymen must, though different in degree, be substantially the same.

29 October 1857

THE MUTINIES IN BENGAL PROPER

Partly from the extreme panic which has prevailed in almost all stations in Bengal, partly from the interruption of communications, and partly from causes which the Press Act forbids us to describe, the history of the revolt is still but imperfectly understood. This is more especially the case in Bengal Proper, where the mutinies never assumed the importance, or excited the interest they did in the North-West. That was transpired in Bengal Proper since the outbreak at Meerut.

The surge of the great wave was first felt in Behar. The Beharees, always a stupid and somewhat insolent race, had been excited by the controversy with the education department in 1855. They gave way only in part, and it was known that large classes were deeply disaffected. While the Commissioners all over Bengal were called on for reports, an anxious attention was denoted to Behar. The police was strengthened at all the ghats leading into the Province. In some places native Christians were employed to watch, as the only class absolutely secure from the infection. The treasure in Arrah and Chuprah was removed to Patna, and placed under a guard of the Sikh police; six Companies of the same force were posted to protect the great opium stores, and measures were adopted for strengthening the hands of the city Magistrate. The first alarm was felt in the middle of June, more especially at Gya. That city, filled with Mussulmans, was protected by a guard of Nujeebs, men of the Caste and with the feelings of sepoys. That city has been for years notorious for the fanaticism of its population, and an outbreak had been considered imminent. A Nujeeb who tried to

tamper with the Sikhs was executed at once, without discussion, a measure which acted as a wholesome deterrent. The Commissioner Mr. Tayler arrested four Wahabee leaders, and held them as hostages for the fidelity of their sect, always numerous in Behar. The police was strengthened, and a Moulavie and a Jemadar, in Tirhoot known to be implicated in Mussulman conspiracies were at once arrested. By 3rd July, the discontent had come to a head. A mob some two hundred strong bearing flags and beating drums, openly attacked the compound of the Roman Catholic Mission, killed Dr. Lyell, the Opium Agent in the street, and threatened all Feringhees with sudden death. The mob was dispersed by Military force, and thirty of them arrested. Only fourteen were hanged, but the house of the ringleader was razed to the ground, and a post set up with an inscription announcing his crime and its speedy punishment. The movement had proved politically abortive. According to the Moulavie's possession, it was part of a long matured and extensive Mussulman conspiracy for overthrowing British power. So the most stringent precautions were adopted by the Commissioner. The inhabitants were forbidden to move out after half past nine at night, according under Martial law, but this step was disallowed by the Government of Bengal.

Meanwhile slight alarms were felt in other districts. At Dacca, the sepoys had for sometime manifested a spirit of independence not far removed from mutiny. In the Sonthal Pergunnahs the 5th Irregular Cavalry broke out at Rohnee, murdered their Adjutant, the Commanding Officer, and Sir Norman Leslie, and were only temporarily restrained from acts of violence by the firmness of Major Macdonald. That officer, revolver in hand, hung the mutiniers without reference to Calcutta, and for a few days by his courage and capacity seemed to have won the day. In Dinagepore, it was found necessary to search all religious mendicants and faqueers as the great spreaders of sedition. In Jessore, a Jemadar who asserted that the reign of Imam Ali was at hand was placed in confinement, but not executed. Means were rapidly adopted to increase the Magistracy. Twenty additional Deputy Magistrates were sanctioned for Behar alone.

On 25th of July the three regiments at Dinapore, the 7th, 8th and 40th mutinied. The General of Division gave them ten hours to deliver up their arms and went on board a steamer, and the Regiments with H. M.'s 10th staring at them all the while, quitted the station with their arms. They crossed the river unmolested, and reached Arrah, where they were joined by Kooer Sing, a well-known Zemindar, with a large body of followers. They plundered the Treasury, destroyed all the property they could lay their hands on, and then turned on the Europeans. The latter, twelve in number, with 50 of Capt. Rattray's Sikhs, collected in a house, fortified by Mr. Boyle, a Railway Engineer. The Sikhs were offered large sums in cash to desert them, but the proposals were rejected with scorn. About the third day of the siege the sepoys departed to meet the 300 men of H. M.'s 10th under Captain Dunbar then in pursuit. They entrapped them into an ambuscade, shot down two-thirds of their number, and returned to exult over their victory. The garrison still fought on, certain of ultimate relief, and was finally relieved by the brilliant march and decisive victory of the 1st of August when Major Eyre scattered nearly three thousand of the enemy.

On the 15th July, the 12th Irregulars at Segowlee after the accustomed professions of loyalty and obedience mutinied, murdered Major Holmes and his wife, and other Europeans, and made off for Sehwan. This last outbreak spread consternation through Behar. The Commissioner, Mr. Tayler, whose vigilant severity had previously saved Patna, and whose energy up to this moment had been conspicuous, was misled into a resolution at variance with all his former conduct. He ordered all officers at all stations in his division to concentrate themselves in Patna. On 30th July Martial law was proclaimed in the division, but the mischief was accomplished. Sarun was abandoned. Mozufferpore was abandoned, Moteeharee and Nowada were abandoned. Chumparun was abandoned. Gya was abandoned, though there were 45 Europeans and 100 Sikhs in the place. There never was an enemy near the town, but in India the departure of Europeans is the signal of anarchy, and all kinds

of official property, including the records, were destroyed. It was also considered expedient that a native should be appointed, able to control all the Amlahs but without connection with the Province. The Government therefore in order to trace the Mussulman revolt, sent a Mussulman Pleader, a man named Ameer Ali, as Deputy Commissioner, an office not before existing in Bengal.

On the 30th July, the 8th N. I. at Hazareebaugh mutinied; speedily followed by the artillery of the Ramgurh battalion who were on their way to that station. The latter then marched on Ranchi to destroy the Europeans, but they had escaped, and the ruffians were compelled to content themselves with the wanton destruction of all accessible property. From Ranchi they marched to Dorandah which station Captain Dalton fortunately had left. He regained Hazareebaugh as soon as the mutiniers left, and rapidly restored order. On the 5th August the detachment of the Ramgurh battalion at Purulia also mutinied and plundered the station, and then struck to the westward to effect a junction with the remainder of the Corps. The Government at last disarmed the troops at Berhampore, the 63rd N. I. and 11th L. C., thus leaving only three native regiments in Bengal the 73rd N. I. at Julpigoree, the 32nd in the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and the Shikawattee Battalion at Midnapore with arms in their hands. The city of Moorshedabad also was disarmed to prevent the mutiniers from purchasing or seizing weapons, and has remained permanently quiet.

On the 8th August, the Dinapore mutiniers on their way to the North-West attacked and plundered Sasseram, and after a severe conflict with a Zemindar made off in safety. On 14th August the 5th L. C. quitted Bhaugulpore with their arms and marched rapidly for Bowsee in the hope apparently of rousing the 32nd N. I. They proceeded towards Hazareebaugh, whence Captain Dalton fell back, but almost immediately regained his post with a party of Sikhs. Some Companies of the same force were spread along the Grand Trunk Road to protect that great artery, and by 18th August the aspect of affairs was here.

The 5th Irregulars were wandering, about intent on murder

and plunder somewhere, nobody from Government downwards knew where. Kooer Sing with the Dinapore men was threatening Shahabad, but keeping diligently out of the way of troops. The Ramgurh battalion and 12th L. C. were in the neighbourhood of Hazareebaugh, but making for the Soane Valley. Patna, Gya, the Grand Trunk Road and Hazareebaugh were safe under the protection of the Sikhs, and the Soane was supposed to have been rendered impassable by the removal of all boats down the stream. The remainder of Bengal was tolerably safe, but everywhere there was still a want of troops upon whom any dependence could be placed. A proposal to enlist Crops of Cacharrees and Muneepoorees had already been sanctioned, and the raising of Sonthal Companies armed with axes and light rifles was seriously discussed. These men, even during their own bloodthirsty revolt, the lenient punishment of which is perhaps one cause of the present mutinies, never attacked Europeans. Troops were still urgently required to defend Behar, for Kooer Sing's force though able to effect no great stroke still threw every district they traversed into the greatest alarm. The mutiniers appear to have lived throughout by plunder of which they accumulated enough to check their advance. Kooer Sing with the main body of the sepoys retreated to the North-West, and his brother Umar Sing with the retainers of the family remained in Behar.

On 3rd September Captain Oakes with some Sikhs re-occupied Purulia. On 9th September the 5th Irregulars were met by 200 Sikhs from Gya, but repulsed them with some loss. The mutiniers liberated the prisoners in the Gya Jail and rode off towards the Soane. This liberation of convicts had become by this time a feature in the revolt, and produced an order for removing all prisoners confined for more than three years to the Straits. The Irregulars crossed the Soane in spite of all precautions, and the Ramgurh men at Dorundah escaped from the position, and made for the North-West. At last the deficiency of troops was supplied. On the 9th October two companies of the 32nd N. I. at Deoghur mutinied murdering their officers. Two more companies at Rampore Haut also mutinied, and both

skirted the great road in a northerly direction. For that time the position of Bengal is nearly this. There are some points on which we conceive justice has not been done to the Government of Bengal. There are others in which their conduct is opposed to what we cannot but deem sound policy. We shall indicate neither. The Act precludes us from attack, and to defend would show an obvious want of impartiality.

5 November 1857

THE REVIEWS ON THE MUTINIES

The day of the great English Reviews is nearly over. Events march too fast to be overtaken by so clumsy a machinery, and the ablest article now scarcely affects contemporary politics. The great writers who once communicated with the nation by these means have swarmed off to the weekly press, and the Quarterlies have gradually sunk into the receptacles of descriptions too elaborate for a newspaper. There still hovers round them a belief in their traditionary greatness. They still influence slightly the opinions of old men and country clergymen, and still like Rome attract an attention paid rather to their old renown than to their living power. Both have published accounts of the Indian mutinies, though carried on only to the end of June. Both narrate almost the same facts, and both endeavour with the instinct of English thinkers to trace the movement to a definite, tangible cause. There the resemblance ends. The account of the Quarterly old as it appears to Anglo-Indians is still a most readable narrative, bringing back facts freshly to our memories, and recalling vividly the true sequence of events. It enters at unusual length into the facts bearing on the mutinous feeling displayed previous to the outbreak at Meerut. In the Edinburgh on the other hand the narrative seems fettered—as we doubt not was the case—by the fact that the writer knew too much, had perpetually to recollect whether the fact in his memory was not one buried in the secret department.

There is another point of some interest in these Reviews.

Both while differing so widely upon the measures adopted since the mutiny agree as to its cause. Both reject as beneath argument the idea that religious susceptibilities had any share whatever in creating the revolt. Both believe that while the progress of enlightenment may have agitated the native mind, the weapons furnished by civilization are the only weapons with which the victory can be secured. Add the great cause of all, the ineradicable, indestructible hatred of race, the spirit which makes an Italian bend to an Italian however evil, while he loathes an Austrian however just, and we have the only explanation of the revolt the world will ever receive. They may have been minor and temporary causes, but the foundation of the mischief is the difference of race and the policy of conciliation.

17 December 1857

THE "NATIONAL" ON THE MUTINIES

The National Review like the Edinburgh and Quarterly has an article on the Mutinies but the article will disappoint the reader. The author says :—"In a report to be found among the papers named at the head of this article. It is shown by the Governor General that one European infantry regiment costs somewhat less than two native crops. Thus, in the place of forty of the Bengal regular regiments, there might be raised more than twenty European battalions ; which would at once double the European force heretofore maintained in that presidency. The officers of the late regiments would be ready at hand for officering the new European corps. Such an augmentation of European force in the Bengal presidency would give two additional regiments for Calcutta and Barrackpore, one regiment for Moorshedabad or Berhampore, one for Benares, one for Allahabad, one for Cawnpore, an additional one for Lucknow, two for the interior of Oude, an additional one for Agra, one for Delhi, one for Rohilcund, one for Mooltan, two for the Saugur and Nerbudda territories ; and besides these, a European reserve of some six battalions might be kept in excellent health in the hill country near

Almora, overhanging the North-West Provinces, and partly in the Darjeeling Himalayas overhanging Bengal, just as a similar re-serve of three regiments is kept already in the hills above Umballa, which reserve now constitutes mainly the besieging force before Delhi. By such an arrangement, northern India might be held by an iron grips imilar to that by which Frederick the Great held Silesia."

The only defect in the arrangement is that the number suggested is too small. Ten thousand men must be reserve. The force scattered in single regiments would be exposed to destruction in the event of any internal catastrophe.

There ought to be another first class fortress at the frontier of Bengal, whence the rich plains of the Delta may be protected against incursions from the North-West. Perhaps the most inexplicable circumstance of the mutinies is the failure of all attempts to pour through Goruckpore into Behar. At the beginning there was nothing to prevent the movement, and there was a country to plunder compared with which Hindoostan is sterile.

31 December 1857

HINDU INTELLIGENCER

CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

To The Educated Natives of India

(From Sir James W. C.)

Sweet persuasion ! Like distilling dew
Softens the heart, bends the strong will
Till hopefull enquiry springing up
Leads on to firm conviction of the Truth.


Gentlemen—

I confess I do not agree with those who would force a faith upon a people or with rude vehemence press truth on men's conscience. To speak popularly, I would not thrust Christianity down the throat of the natives of India. They are a civil people and ought to be civilly, gently dealt with. I admire the mode of that great logician and orator, Paul, when for instance he visited the refined Athenians in their own palatial city.

19 January 1857

WHAT SHOULD BE THE TRUE AIM OF EDUCATION

An essay read by Kedar Nath Dutt at a meeting of the Hogulkuria Debating Club.

Cultivation fructifies a land and education a mind is a saying common with every individual that boasts of a grain of reason and common sense. A mind without education perfectly resembles an uncultivated firm overgrown with weeds and brambles. Hence education is absolutely necessary to form a man even in a secular point of view. The woman of our country may be ranked a little above the level of the Ourang Outangs ()

১৮৫৭) and far below that of men. Let us consider now what makes men mentally blind. It is the want of education. Hence I believe that the boys, who have arrived at the age of eight, should begin to learn. A youth thus educated would I believe, prove useful to society when he grows up.

Let us solve the question—why Young Bengal is all discussion and no action? It is owing to a defective system of education. No regular education they are receiving. They are learning everything and nothing. They talk always, morning and evening, noon and night, in the language of Shakespeare and Milton, Byron and Pope. In short, they look upon themselves Perfectly Europeanised and enlightened by English literature. I admit they have a good deal of intelligence, but what that intelligence can do while they learn from the school to talk nonsense and humbug—get many things by heart and understand little. What move do we expect from these ill-trained youths? Our rulers think they have done much good to us. But it is my firm belief that they have done very little for us. If words and no deeds are not the mark of uselessness what can they denote more I do not know. A boy begins his studies at eight, which in my opinion is the properest age, continues in the school for ten years more and learns to work sums in simple equation, solve problems of Euclid and read and write tolerably well &c. Why should ten years be spent for such poor acquirements? He can learn more in that time. Next he is promoted to the college where he undergoes the same operation. He is to learn their literature and fill the brain with philosophical theories, soar in the heavens to know of the planetary system and chew to use the expression of a humorous writer, the dry boan of mathematics, or in other words he is to cram his head with many things and learn nothing. Young Bengal can not be in action unless this cramming system is done away with. After all I conclude that especial education for one thing is preferable to general education for many things and the former should be the true aim of education.

THE FATE OF THE HINDOOS

Writer of the European breed contend that the natives of India will never be a dominant race. Writers with crazy Christian fancy and antiquated prejudices conceive that civilization will find no hospitable home in the romantic regions of fair India. Writers with proud academic education and high anglo-saxon pride, and exclusive temperament inveigh in a language against the abilities and moral conduct of the Indian Nation, and read the sternest decree on their fates.

But fate is uncertain. Absurd reasoning cannot uncloset that shell which contains the seed and the bearing of the remote future.

But with human beings the past is an index of the future, the present its forerunner.

The future of the natives of this country is an interesting subject. There is a pleasure in discussing it. What will be the fate of a people who was once the proudest and the most powerful in the then known world, in whose country was civilization first cradled, and whose intellectual energies were developed to a wondrous extent, whose boasts of the most glorious names in the republic of letters and regions of fancy, who have groined for eight centuries under foreign oppression and tyranny, and whose capabilities, though they are thus sunk and degraded, are still universally acknowledged to be very high? This is a question that will surely afford many a considerable pleasure in thinking about.

Hindu now cherishes some of the best notions and best principles that have obtained in the world. He now quotes the best philosophers of the human mind, and the human heart. He cultivates the best feelings that have obtained sway in the most civilized countries of the globe. He worships the Goddess of Reason and ploughs the classic field of English Literature.

The Hindu now creates the standard of equality among a race that have by their might acquired the right of government over him. He partakes of the most cheering blessing of modern

civilization. He travels by the Railway Car, and can waft a sign from the Indus to the Cape Comorin, with the rapidity of lightning, through the electric wire. He possesses now the History of the world, and keeps his year alive and open to all that goes on, in it. Seated on velvet cushions, he surveys the living and the moving world from China to Peru. He has now original thoughts to publish and independent opinion to express.

The Hindu now carries on traffic with the most advanced nations of the earth. He exchanges his country's products for the manufactures of England and the wares of Europe at large.

He has learnt to mourn his lot and sigh over the forfeiture of his birth-rights on public prints. He canvasses the opinions of men, who, pretending to seek his welfare, indites articles or essays prejudicial to his best interests. He complains fearlessly of the injustice that is done to him.

Another essential ingredient without which no nation can attain to dominancy, the Hindu is also said to stand in need of. It is that "organizing faculty" which enables "a few Anglo-Saxons flung in the midst of anarchy to establish social and political order." The fact is that such opportunities have never been afforded to the Hindu Nation.

2 February 1857

REGARDING WIDOW MARRIAGE

Sir,

The marriage of the Hindu widow was for a long time the grand theme of polite conversation, and is still such, notwithstanding two or three instances of its celebration. The talk has been made and still continued by the enlightened community in the true spirit of the educated and the liberal and with degree of warmth and enthusiasm that characterize the Reformers. It is gratifying to see a young native of education and enlightenment giving an eloquent discourse on the

nature and validity of a contract, and endeavouring to show marriage to be nothing but a human contract. It affords joy to see him speak, admitting marriage to be a contract of the requirements of its validity and whether does the marriage system of the Hindus allow them strictly to observe those necessary circumstances. Glorious was the day indeed in the Legislative career of the East India Company's Government when the distinguished act for removing all obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows was passed amidst the loud rejoicings of the enlightened few, and the warm congratulations of those educated natives, who properly speaking, form the rising generation of Bengal, and on whom therefore the Hindu society rests entirely its hopes of national greatness and social harmony.

It was a memorable day indeed in the legislative history of India. Every one knows that Pundit Issur Chunder Vidyasagar, the prime mover of this act, in signification of his ecstasy for the passing of it, employed his shrewd and politic head in thinking of the solemnization of marriage. Active measures were taken for the speedy attainment of their object. No moment was lost, no trouble spared. Messages were abroad, and informers were abundant. Day by day fresh informations reaches from every quarter of the good existence and probable grounds of marriage, and they were received with utmost cordiality. The Vidyasagar was never quiet at one place. He began to roam about in search of proper object on whom to execute the desired marriage.

It is painful to conceive that the ardour and exertions of the enlightened reformers would extend so far only as they have done, and no further. It ashes us to think that the frustration of their hope in accomplishing this necessary reformation, barely on account of lack of perseverance, would fix an indelible stigma on our national character. It tortures us to imagine that the adverse party would triumph, and the time and national cause be lost—that the gentle smile of sober truth would sink beneath the wild laughter of proud superstition. It sets our reason to distraction to suppose that

"Vice should triumph, virtue vice obey."

I am Sir,

17th February 1857

Yours very obediently,

Lex.

23 February 1857

THE CONDITION OF BENGAL

We give prominent place to the following able and most sympathizing article, being a letter of the Calcutta correspondent of the *Morning Star*, a London Newspaper :

"An unsuccessful effort has recently been made by a body of disinterested and enlightened gentlemen in this city, of whom I shall more particularly speak hereafter, to obtain from the Governor-General in Council, the appointment of a Commission, consisting of men of independent minds, unbiased by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causes that now affect the social condition of the population of Bengal, especially into the state of the police and judicial system.

Repulsed by the Government of India they are about to prefer a similar petition to the Imperial Parliament, and I am anxious to second their benevolent efforts, by an attempt to convey to your numerous readers some idea of the actual condition of thirty millions of their fellow subjects, resident in Bengal, a country which has now been in the occupation and under the rule of the English for a hundred years. I shall confine myself for the present, to the state of the police.

In the years 1834 and the 1835 attention of the Indian Community was drawn to the subject of the administration of the police in Bengal by a series of letters written by the Hon'ble Frederick John Shore, acting at the time as judge of the civil court and criminal sessions of the district of Furruckhabad, in this province. These letters were subsequently collected and republished in England under the title of "Notes on Indian affairs". I do not know another work which I could so strongly recommend

to the English student, who is anxious to know the real condition of the native of India under our Government, as this of Mr. Shore's. As respects the corruption, cruelty and tyranny of the police, his description will answer to the state of things at the present day, with this difference only, that the evils which he so fearlessly exposed, exist now in a greatly aggravated degree.

The labours of Mr. Shore were not without effect. His writing produced a profound sensation in India, and penetrated at length the recesses of the chambers of Leadenbal Street, from whence emanated a despatch dated the 20th January 1836, addressed to the Governor-General in Council strongly recommending the speedy adoption by the Indian Government of measures for promoting the purity and efficiency of the police of Bengal. The despatch concluded by saying "No financial consideration should be allowed to stand in the way of a change so urgently required."

Thus stimulated the Government called for reports from the various districts, and appointed a committee, composed of civilians high in the service, to examine all documents laid before them—to receive viva voce testimony of all respectable persons who might present themselves to give evidence, and to report upon the subject to the Supreme authorities.

The Committee sat. Amongst the witnesses examined was Mr. R. D. Mangles, then one of the secretaries to the Government and now a director of the East India Company and a member of parliament. With this gentleman the "urgency" of the case went for nothing—the financial considerations involved were everything. His principal objects in coming before the committee appeared to be, to communicate to them the information that "the execution of any substantial and early improvement in the existing system, would be impeded if the plan proposed by the Committee should involve any great increase of expenditure.

It may be worthy of passing remark, that no financial consideration operated at this period as a check upon the expenditure of millions upon millions in the prosecution of the all-fated and ignominious expedition to Afghanistan.

I will now glance at the report of the Committee. It admits

that a change was at that time "urgently required" but adds that the urgency of the case did not arise out of any increase of crime among the natives but out of "the extreme unpopularity of the police system and the grievous oppression connected with its operations." The people, says the report, are fully alive to the blessings of peace which they enjoy under our rule, and being no longer in dread of the resistless incursions of external foes they have learnt to regard that which they possess, which their industry has created, and their carefulness has spread, as their own; and, therefore, naturally think that a Government which has shown itself strong enough to put down their enemies, should be strong enough and just enough to protect its subjects from oppression and plunder under the name of law.

The report further states that the defects of the police system pervade every grade of the establishment. The Magistrates are overwhelmed, the native Superintendents and their subordinates utterly corrupt and the village police poor, degraded and worse than useless; while the community at large prefer quiet submission to robbery and extortion to police law, believing the former to be the lesser evil of the two.

This is, indeed, a frightful and distressing picture of the state of things throughout this vast province twenty years ago. Hereupon the authority of a report of a Committee of a Government official, and upon the evidence of persons official and unofficial in all parts of the territory, it is published to the world that a state appointed and state paid organisation intended for the prevention of crime and the apprehension and punishment of criminal is converted into a machine for the annoyance, exaction and plunder of the people—who, submitting first to the robbery of their property, and next to the extortions of the myrmidons of the law, finally pay heavily for permission to stay at home, rather than turn their faces towards the so called Courts of Justice of the country.

Such is at the moment at which I write, the condition of the people in the interior of Bengal. Their anxiety is, not to have it known that they have suffered injury and to invoke redress from the tribunals of the country, but to conceal the fact least

they should be ruined by the law, and in the effort to obtain what they have lost, lose that which the thief has left them.

The Committee specify as one of the causes of the inefficiency of the police, the union in one and the same person of the offices of collector of revenue and magistrate. A gentleman discharging at the time these twofold functions gave evidence before the Committee and candidly informed them that while the "revenue department is, as it ought to be, considered of primary importance, it is vain to expect that the police will be anything but a secondary consideration with the collector and magistrate !"

It is scarcely possible to read such a sentence as this without feeling the blush of indignation mounting to the cheek ; yet there is abundant evidence to support the assertion that at this hour the protection of the people is subordinate to the collection of revenue, and that the most upright discharge of the duties of the magistrates would not be allowed to excuse any want of vigour in the tax-gatherer.

Let me here pause, and ask the people of England, and their representatives in the Parliament—through whom alone a merciful and just government can be obtained for the swarming millions of this empire—a few plain questions.

Are not those who are compelled to raise so large a portion of revenues of this country, and upon whom the burden often falls with a weight too heavy to be borne, entitled to the protection of the Government to which that revenue goes ? Does not the obligation to pay a tax on the one side involve the duty of extending protection on the other ? Is not the protection of the people, and equal and impartial administration of the law, among the primary purposes for which taxes are ostensibly levied ? Should the Government of this country be allowed to take so large a proportion of fruits of their industry from the people, and at the same time say, in the face of much manifold grievances and oppressions, "We can effect no improvements that involve great expense." May not the people say "In spending money for our protection, and the due administration of Justice, you do but give us back a small share of that which is our own. From us you derive all you have, your dividends your salaries, your

half-pay, your pensions, your costly establishments—all comes from us, and yet you leave us in our villages the helpless prey of the petty thief, the gang robber, and the midnight dacoit—and still, worse, to the merciless extortions of your own Police darogah and his subordinates—and tell us, when we utter the cry of complaint that you cannot afford us any help that would involve expense? Would you not individually be at any expense to save yourselves from the outrages to which we are daily and nightly exposed? Why then deny to us that which is so dear to you—protection in our homes, the enjoyment of the pittance our industry commands, and deliverance from the illegal insults, extortions and brutalities to which we are now subjected.

I will now close by quoting the judgement of the committee to which I have referred, on the subject of the character of the then existing police. They pronounce it as utterly useless for police purposes—as a curse, instead of a blessing to the community and make it a question whether an order issued throughout the country to apprehend and confine the police, would not do more to put a stop to theft and gang robbery than any other measure that could be adopted, short of the organisation of a thoroughly efficient police establishment.

The above is from the fertile pen of Mr. Geo Thompson.

6 April 1857

TESTIMONIAL TO CAPT. D. L. RICHARDSON

A meeting of the friends and admirers of Capt. D. L. Richardson was held at Chowringhee on the 9th April 1857.

Baboo K. C. Dutt in the Chair.

The Chairman read the requisition for the meeting and explained its object. It was to record the sense of the native community and especially those interested in the cause of native education, of their great obligations to Capt. D. L. Richardson, who for the last quarter of a century had taken so active a share in the education of the natives of the country and who was now on the eve of his departure for England. Twenty-five years ago, the

chairman himself had attended the lectures of Capt. Richardson at the Hindu College, and he must declare, that the lectures were of highest degree popular and contributed greatly to the prosperity of the Institution, since the chairman left the College.... and he the chairman, hoped that some token of the respect and admiration of the community may now be offered to the gifted gentleman.

The following resolutions were then proposed and carried unanimously :—

Proposed by Rajah Iswar Chandra Singh and seconded by Gour Doss Byssak—

Resolution 1st.—That in the judgement of this meeting, Captain D. L. Richardson, late Principal of the Hindu College, and now Principal of the Metropolitan College, has during a period of 25 years, rendered most important service to the cause of the Native education, which entitle him to the respect and gratitude of the Native community.

Proposed by Baboo Govin Chunder Dutt and seconded by Baboo Jatindra Mohan Tagore—

Resolution 2nd.—That the following address be adopted and presented to Captain D. L. Richardson.

Proposed by Baboo Jatindra Mohan Tagore and seconded by Baboo Giris Chunder Dutt—

Resolution 3rd.—That a subscription be raised from among the friends and admirers of Capt. D. L. Richardson, in order to present him with a silver breakfast service.

Proposed by Roy Kissory Chunder Mittra and seconded by Baboo Gour Doss Byssak—

Resolution 4th.—That in the event of there being a surplus of the subscriptions, the amount should be appropriated in such manner as the subscribers may hereafter determine on.

Resolution 5th.—That the following gentlemen be appointed a committee to receive subscriptions and to carry out the objects of this meeting, viz ;—

Rajah Iswar Chunder Singh, Roy Kissory Chunder Mittra, Baboo Jatindra Mohan Tagore, Baboo Giris Chunder Dutt, Baboo Rajendra Dutt, Baboo Kasheprasad Ghosh, Baboo

Girish Chunder Ghosh, Baboo Gour Doss Byssak, Baboo Pryonath Sett, Baboo Govin C. Dutt and Baboo K. C. Dutt, with power to add to their number.

Proposed by Baboo K. C. Dutt and seconded by Baboo Kis-sory C. Mitter—

Resolution 6th.—That Baboo Girish Chunder Dutt and Gour Doss Byssak be appointed Secretaries and Baboos Girish Chunder Ghosh and Girish Chunder Dutt Treasurers.

Resolution 7th.—That the Secretaries correspond with Capt. D. L. Richardson and ascertain, when it will be convenient for him to receive the address.

Resolution 8th.—That the committee meet again on Monday next to receive the Secretary's Report.

Thanks to the Chair.

(Signed) Kylas C. Dutt
Chairman

Hurkaru, April 13.

20 April 1857

OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER VINDICATED

(Editorial)

Some passing remarks on our national characteristics in connection with a subject in which we take a most lively interest, because of its intrinsic merits, have occasioned in certain quarters feelings of exultations and triumph. One of our contemporaries with a sufficient good nature compliments us on the "advance of our self knowledge" while another, with an ostentation of a pride of his dignity and a deep sense of vengeance for the sake of his notoriously "brilliant" predecessors—"brilliant" after the fashion of their great idol Lord Dalhousie—"pardoned" us for "want of courtesy" which, being rendered into ordinary language, means that absence of fulsome flukeism, which forms the predominant trait of the owners of the Serampore Guddee. We had hitherto purposely refrained from replying to these gentlemen, knowing that their reflections on our remarks were the dictates

of a less honorable feeling for the nation about which they wrote, than what should justly actuate a journalist on such an occasion, and that a little fluxion of time, when the sentiments of the "evil" hour would leave their brains they would set down the stern truth and nothing but the truth, and would unconsciously contradict their former aspersions, one and all or as Mr. Disraeli would say "a bit by bit". In a rather long article in the Phoenix of the 15th instant, the editor of that journal with all the enthusiasm of a real friend, and with the warm assurance of one who has closely studied our national character, who has observed with due attention and sufficient interest our infant energies to spring up with the freshness and vigor of youth, and at least to reach a fulness of growth which is at once a marvel, who has carefully compared in its mind the histories of progress of other nations of the globe and their capabilities....and has thus been led inspite of his previous conviction, to admire the rapid advancement of the Bengalees, so much so as to call it the growth of "germs sown, as it were, but yesterday" asserts that "the population of Bengal are far ahead of the populations of the North-West and the new acquisitions, as were a century back the inhabitants of Edinburgh in advance of the clansmen of the Highland chieftains" and that they have shown to be fully alive to the advantages of education, eager of intellectual improvement in a word ambitious of a high status among the subjects of Great Britain". Foreigners and especially those who have no sympathy with us by the primalties or birth or blood or religion, who have with us no social intercourse and no kindred customs and manners, who are isolated from us by motives of interest and marked by that "antagonism of rank" which is pernicious whenever it obtains, who profess a different creed of civilization....cannot thoroughly understand or patiently or impartially study our character or form a just conception of it; and it is no wonder that so many misrepresentations are given of our desires and thoughts and habits. But why we ourselves sometimes condemn the notions and deprecate the principles of conduct which acquire a strong ascendancy on the minds of our countrymen, is owing to one of those feelings which are akin to self-remorse and which are

sometimes highly exaggerated from their intensity. We are as a nation love to be abused and reproached by the members of our own community ; and the London Times has latterly discovered the same latent feeling among Englishmen. We once exclaimed that Patriots there are none in Bengal, but who would believe it ? The London Economist the other day announced to the world the English are not what Napoleon called them, a nation of shopkeepers, but strange to say, nation of assassins.

To conceive the Bengalee character rightly, the whole History of the domestic society of the nation must be studied, their religion must be examined, the daily changes in their habits and thoughts must be marked, the progressive state of their intellect and condition must be watched, in short, the past, present, and the future of the nation must be closely observed. We love money as every other nation on the surface of the earth does, and we spend it like a prince which few people do, but we cherish the feelings of a child and entertain particular hobbies at the driving of which we may expend thousands and lacs. Our moral rectitude is as high as it is anywhere else, and we give way to temptations like all men when there are no strong checks to restrain. Native judiciaries, especially Native Amlahs are said to be corrupt, but Europeans with the same small remunerations were found to be such and the reader is recommended to the noble and honest minutes of Mackenjine, Sir John Shore, Sir Thomas Munro, Sir Thomas Strachey and several other Indian politicians of great eminence. Even the recent minute of Mr. Halliday on the police of Bengal bear an ample testimony to our assertion. We shall not waste words in sustaining our intellectual character. It is too firmly established to be shaken or upset. As to our capabilities, the Phoenix has already said much to need any further enlargement of illustration.

25 May 1857

THE RELIGION OF RAMMOHAN

This has been a vexed question. Till recently the Brahma friends of the Rajah peacefully slumbered with the conviction that he was a Vedantist. And certainly they had good grounds for it. He was the wonder of the Brahma Samaj, the first theistic, or rather Vedantic Association in Modern India. He was the author of tracts and discourses exposing Hinduism as insufficient to satisfy man's religious necessities, and expressing an unqualified conviction in the teachings of, at least, one of the Vedas. But in 1856 Mr. Dall came to the shores, and brought, from a world at our antipodes a "new and improved edition of Rammohan Roy's religion." An American, the great pioneer of the world's progress, is never satisfied in keeping his own crotchet to himself. He must needs thrust his own idea into all circles. So Padre Dall goes from one end of Calcutta to the other, and announces to all his wonderful discovery. He catches hold of every Deistic follower of Rammohan Roy and tells him that the Great Hindoo Reformer was a Christian, not of course one of those ordinary Christians, whom we always see around, he who divide God into three unequal parts and worship them separately or all together,—but an unitarian Christian, one who deems Jesus as the greatest of mortals only.

Mr. Dall has met with repeated checks in the promulgation of this, his favorite crotchet. He has been for a long time contradicted in his peculiar view of the Rajah's religion. Yet, the numerous articles written in the local papers have evidently failed to convince him. The idea is still with him. Well, that is missionary obtuseness or obstinacy, if you would have it. To our great vexation, he intends to bring the discussion once more on the Tapis.

The following appears in the Report for the third half year of the Unitarian Mission to India, drawn up by Mr. Dall :—

A number of newspaper articles have been drawn from us by the Vedantist Secession, which is made professedly on account of the unfaithfulness of the Vedantists hitherto to the Christian element in Rammohan Roy's publication and wri-

tings. This element has been so carefully suppressed that many of the natives who highly honor the great Hindoo reformer, are now hearing for the first time, that he advocated the acceptance, by Hindus, of what Jesus taught.

"That Rammohan Roy set Christianity above every other known religion — they cannot believe, till we give them the Rajah's own unequivocal declaration of it."

Now, this is one of the most astounding things that we ever recollect having either read or heard. Mr. Dall might possibly bring in some stray ambiguous sentence of the Rajah which is not clear enough and begin with a loud yelling voice to the disgust of all polite people to prove that he was a Christian. But then how to meet the thousand and one simple facts, stern facts and objections in the way? The single circumstance of the institution, by him, of the Calcutta Brahma Samaj proves sadly otherwise. What will Mr. Dall say to this? There are, indeed, passages in Rammohan Roy's writings which betray a deep seated reverence for Christian and an enlightened conviction in the truth of its great teaching. But then even we own such reverence and such a conviction: and yet we are not necessarily Christians.

Is there any proof that Rammohan believed in the miracles of Christ, in the immaculate conception, and the countless odd stories and hideous absurdities with which the Bible teems? All mankind may applaud the elevated morality of the Bible—but does it follow that they have faith in the purely religious parts of Christianity? This was the case with Rammohan Roy. He was an admirer and even advocated the "Precepts of Jesus" but not a Christian. He was an unitarian but not an unitarian Christian.

1 June 1857

FEMALE EDUCATION (Editorial)

.... The Education of Hindu Females was first agitated half a century ago, by some of those philanthropic gentlemen, who are hired and sent out to this country to preach the Gospel for a

certain pecuniary consideration, paid to them regularly every month in the shape of pay. The contagion has since spread itself and effected the late Mr. Bethune in no small degree. He spent a great deal of money under its influence, and induced many of our countrymen, especially youngmen, to adopt his views. We are surprised to find that not one of them has ever hit upon the practical part of the great question, which is in so much favour with them. Neither the Rev. K. M. Banerjee, who wrote upon it many years ago, and obtained, we believe, three hundred rupees for his trouble; nor Babu Kailashnath Bose, whose paper is now before us, has been able to suggest the nature and extent of education, which should be given to women and particularly to Hindu Females. Both of them descant with much enthusiasm and earnestness upon the imaginary advantages of education, but none of them has been able to lay down a specific course of study for the fairer sex.

Our author thinks that "the women of England are perhaps the best educated of all the women of the world", and yet their education "has not sufficiently strengthened their hands to be able to assert their rights", for they have no legal existence; her being is absorbed in that of her husband's. So female education has been of little avail in a country which claims of the foremost place in the progress of civilisation. Let the reader now draw his own conclusion.

8 June 1857

GREAT BRITAIN AND INDIA

Sir,

A correspondent of the Englishman signing himself "Pips" shows with a sort of vivacity, scarcely suitable to the subject, how much do we owe to our present rulers and asserts that the British have bettered the condition of our country. But it is a fact confirmed by History and Experience that mankind is improving every day by mutual assistance. Britain is what she is, from her connection with India, and, on the other hand, the latter

country owes much for its present (to be sure somewhat better) condition to the exertions of the sons of Great Britain. I need not cite Historical evidences to corroborate my assertion, but let me at once say a few words to Mr. Pips in his own peculiar "don't care" style.

Couldst thou, oh Pips, or any of thy race have procured for thy Queen the dazzling Kohinoor that now glitters in her crown, if India have not supplied you with it ?

Would it have been in thy power or of any of thy nation to adorn thy native land with so many articles of luxury, which it at present boasts of, if Gama had not discovered the way to India, or the "birth-right" men had not found out the humane system of extortion in this country ?

You have strangely indeed very strangely thought that you have extricated us from the cruel hands of the Mahomedans !! Did you ever hear of the general belief that "the Mahomedan tyranny was the tyranny in the night and Christian tyranny is the tyranny in the day ?"

You say "were we (Englishmen) to be indeed driven from India or to leave it for ever, would thy lot, oh Hindu, be as pleasant as it is now ?" I ask your veracity in reply, can you make up your minds to leave this fair land ? Shut your lips ; speak no more. Could you ever claim a political ascendancy in India's sunny shore, if thy or thy nation's cunning and selfish means were not employed to sow the seeds of dissension amongst the native powers and thereby play the part of the Lion of Æsop ?

And is there now any one amongst you so honest as to cease to ship away all the productions of this country and thereby enable us to enjoy them ?

Could you have added conquests to conquests exclusively with the aid of the English soldiers, who are too few to defend thy own native land ? It was the sons of India that did much for you ; yet to hear you are ungrateful !!

Should you (as philanthropists) exchange our necessities for the less useful objects of luxury, such as steam-engines and Electric Telegraphs ? Are not your bubble-like productions of art am-

ply and more than amply recompensed by the more useful articles you get here ? Can you reasonably deny the fact, that if we cease to satisfy your various demands, your condition will not be as good as it is now ? Bush !

Hoping to see this letter inserted in your valuable paper, I remain, dear Sir,

Your's truly,

A Critic.

15 June 1857

THE NATIVE AND THE BLACK ACT

Sir,

Adverting to your remark....in respect to the meeting to be held at the Town Hall....you state that the movement in question is a gratuitous interference with the rights and privileges of the Englishmen on the part of the natives. I beg to say that if you will ponder upon the subject closely, you will no doubt admit that the proposed meeting of the Town Hall, is not an unnecessary interference on the part of the natives. Experience has proved beyond doubt that the exemption of Englishmen from the Mofussil Courts has been a source of great injustice to the natives residing in the Mofussil. Parhaps you will think in act of supererogation on my part if I were to mention that various acts of oppression which the Indigo planters are in the habit of committing with the impunity in the interior, because the exemption places them beyond the reach of the Mofussil Courts which now cannot take cognizance of any crimes of which they may be guilty.

21 March 1857

THE HINDOO WIDOW MARRIAGE ACT

To Pundit Issur Chunder Bidyasagur and the concerned
(Per favour of the Editor of the Bengal Hurkaru)

Gentlemen,

Excuse the liberty I have taken in thus addressing you, on the subject of the Hindoo widow marriage through the medium of the Hurkaru. A feeling of sympathy, which this critical state of our society excited, prompts me to do so.

The proposal for making the Hindoo widow marriage a national custom, beneficial as it would be, no doubt, in the course of time, has caused at present, much disagreeableness and agitation. Indeed nothing but disappointment, desertion, contempt and hatred, are observable on all sides. Your reasonable and consequently most forcible arguments, in support of the above marriage, have fully convinced us all in this country, and likewise many abroad, of its propriety. We are all perfectly satisfied with the truth you have brought to light, which had so long been kept concealed by the priestly craft. There is now no denying the fact of its being allowed, although the Pundits have resorted to the poor plea of custom.

But before venturing to establish or introduce an institution of such magnitude in a state of society, which requires a thorough amendment, it would be an act of prudence on your part, first of all, to open a path for the diffusion of female education. A particular course of study, adapted to the purpose, should be prepared with the view of imparting the elements of a moral training. This of course should be compiled in the pure Sadhu Bhasa language of our country. Thus enlightened by knowledge all prejudices and superstitions would be eradicated from the hearts of our females. They consequently will yield to any reasonable and necessary improvements required. My suggestions on the subject agree with the Hon'ble Mr. Bethune's. He acted rightly and with good discretion in establishing the Calcutta Female School.

Believe me gentlemen, that if you are born philosophers and philanthropists after such a long period of degeneracy, your

attention should, first of all, be directed to improve your country by encouraging the arts and sciences, trade and commerce, thereby conferring actual benefits on your countrymen.

But I must remind you that....India has neither king nor laws. She has no merchant.

The very arts and sciences have run to decay ; there is not an artist now in all the country. There was a time when all were welcome, who either came to improve the State, or admire its greatness ; and now it is shut up from every foreign improvement, and the very inhabitants discourage each other in the prosecution of that which would ultimately prove to their advantage.

Zilla Howra, Baloor. Gymnosophist.

31 March 1857

DESPOTISM AND OUTRAGE IN BENGAL

Sir,

Very much has been said and written of late on the Indigo planting system. Very grave charges have been laid against the system, but from some cause or other, there has been a paucity of facts in support of the charges. Hence many persons have said "We don't want your theorizing ; give us plain bonafide cases of oppressions and then we shall know what to think and what to do." Allow me then to lay before your readers a case.

Not 20 miles from Krishnaghur there is an Indigo Factory. On the 17th of last month an attack was made upon this village. A number of cattle was carried off. The latteals seized also two native Christian men, whom they conveyed to some place of confinement, and the wife and children fled to the Missionary....

Such, Sir, are the cases committed to me by my friend, the truth of which he dare affirm upon oath. I enquired—"Why don't you appeal to the Magistrate ? Cannot you prove these things in court ?" The reply was—"No, I cannot, such is the terror which possesses the people, that not one of them dare

come forth as a witness ; the very sufferers would shrink from giving evidence from a dread of the consequences."

Then what is to be done !

Calcutta, March 30, 1857.

J. Vaughan.

1 April 1857

THE ASSOCIATION OF FRIENDS

Sir,

I have perused with deep interest the report of the "Association of friends for the promotion of social improvement" and I must say that the members who compose this Association deserve the highest commendation for their disinterested labour in the cause of social reformation among the Hindoos....We must wait with patience and see the result of education. I am confident that if education is properly and systematically imparted to my countrymen, difficulties which now appear to us insurmountable in respect to improvement will soon disappear like the fog in a Sunny day. It is very pleasing to hear that the committee of the "Association of friends" have petitioned the Legislative Council to make laws legalizing the Hindoo widow marriage and abolishing the Coolin Polygamy..... I would strongly recommend the committee to direct their attention to the education of the people. There is another circumstance which I see operates strongly against the Hindoo social reformation which is the want of unity amongst themselves. This want of unity amongst us, I assure you, Mr. Editor, has been the cause of great drawback in our social, moral, and political improvements.

A Native.

2 April 1857

SOMETHING WRONG

The establishment of a University in India forms a new and interesting epoch in the history of education. All true lovers of

knowledge will hail its institution with sincere joy, for even at this early period it has given an additional stimulus to the wheel of education. My intention, however, is not to launch forth in praise of the University and of its tendencies, but to point out some of the errors into which the committee has fallen through indiscretion and imprudence.

The entrance examination for candidates, desirous of climbing up the hill of science and winning academical honors was resolved and notified by the aforesaid committee to be held on the first week in April. Reasonable time was given to those aspirants who desired passing such examination to prepare themselves for success, and fondly had I deemed that candour and Truth would have maintained their sway, and merit met her reward. I had hoped that knowledge would have been imparted on a more substantial basis, and that examinations would have been conducted on a less partial and less dishonest plan. But sorely am I grieved to find that the trial of the serpent that poisoned the springs of holiness in Eden is discernible even here. I am greatly surprised that the members of the committee did not observe the folly and imprudence of appointing those teachers who had the coaching of the young men in the affiliated schools ; examiners of the candidates for the entrance examination. I do not want to insinuate anything about the probity.....I merely say that it was exceedingly injudicious to place such a temptation in their way : for every teacher has a natural inclination to make, if possible, his scholars shine conspicuous at the examination. We know how hard it is to guard against this temptation, and we also know that men who have been regarded as constituted of mental invulnerableness to the influence of the passions, who have been professed teachers of morality, have fallen from their frail though boasted elevation. How can it then be expected in India, where Scotch genius and native genius are contending for skill and superiority that honour and virtue can steer unwrecked through them. I will not descend to manifest and low personality —but I will bring forward a glaring example of the abuse of the confidence reposed in one of the members of the examining body. It was given out to the students of that college which derived its

strength, vigor and fertility from dead and putrid matter ; by the examiner in occidental classics alias the professor of that college, that questions in it would be proposed from the book of Virgil and from the first two Eclogues and not from the whole of Virgil as specified in the syllabus of studies for the entrance examination. This professor has moreover examined during the past week on that subject, and thereby has given them an insight into the nature of the questions they have to expect. I will not, Mr. Editor, trespass further on your patience by making comments on the transactions above mentioned. I would not have ventured to bring this thing to light, had I not considered it a breach of public confidence, as well as a duty to myself to see that the fountain from which I hope in future to draw, be not contaminated and poisoned.

April 7, 1857.

CATO

17 April 1857

"THE FRIEND OF INDIA" (Editorial)

Our contemporary, as we have said, is always unrivalled at recommending strong measures. It is wonderful how convincing he is, when he paints with his enthusiastic pencil, the splendid effects of blowing up a province which has interfered with a principle, or exterminating a race which stands in the way of some "wave" that has been advancing for hundreds of years, and which he thinks is a little behind its time.... He is for knocking down butterflies with thirty-six pounders, and, as might be expected from such principles, distinguishes himself occasionally by missing blue-bottles and flooring Moguls—though it must be admitted that he designedly floors as many of the latter as he can. The consequence of all this is, that—himself the prince of the practical—he leaves practical men far behind....

It is when the Friend of India touches upon religious questions, that he becomes dangerous. It is then that he forgets the principles and the practice which have raised him into importance....

Finally, the Friend comes out with a grand article of faith which renders all his previous reasoning unnecessary. He says that "If we cannot hold the Empire without treating Christianity as a crime, let us stake the Empire on that issue, and stand or fall with the faith to which we pretend." It is, of course, very generous in our contemporary to talk of staking an Empire in which he has such an infinitesimal stake himself....

In conclusion, we will merely remark that the least likely way of making Christians of the Natives of this country, is to get turned out of it ourselves....

17 April 1857

ADDRESS TO CAPT. RICHARDSON

The students of the Metropolitan College and their friends are to present an address to Capt. D. L. Richardson this day, in the College Hall immediately after the presentation of the address from other Natives of Calcutta. The students have purchased an extremely handsome study clock and inkstand (bought of Messrs Allan and Hayes) to present with their address.

CAPT. RICHARDSON

Sir—We cannot permit the opportunity of your departure, temporarily from India, to pass away, without expressing to you our deep sense of gratitude for your exertions in the cause of Native education.

During the period of upwards of twenty years you have laboured for the intellectual advancement of our countrymen with a solicitude, zeal, patience and self denial which we can never sufficiently acknowledge.

We believe we do not offer any compliment or state more than the bare truth when we say that no instructor of youth has ever been more honored and beloved by his pupils than yourself. As a slight token of our regard, we respectfully tender the accompanying present for your kind acceptance, and with heart-

felt wishes for your safe arrival in England, and speedy return to this land of your adoption.

We remain Sir,

Your most obedient Servants,

(True Copy)

G. D. Bysack

Secy. R.T.C.

22 April 1857

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE EXISTING FEELINGS OF THE NATIVES

Dear Sir,

There seems to be a feeling predominant in the minds of all classes of natives, that it is the intention of Government to subvert forcibly their faith and make them lose caste *volems volens*. Many an ill-informed native has come to me with a protentious face seeking information on the subject. It is indeed remarkable how ready the natives are to take up apprehensions on the score of their religion being invaded, and now that they have a free press of their own, we may rest assured that nothing said or done on the country, with regard to their faith and worship, will escape the notice or the misrepresentation of the enemies to British power who are perhaps more thickly planted in India than many are willing to believe and to be found even among those enjoying the favour, and sharing the good things of this Government. The expulsion of the British from India, it is well known, is a favorable project with powers, with which in the meantime, we are maintaining the relations of peace and amity; and it cannot be doubted, that those powers would willingly avail themselves of every occasion to arouse the fears of natives, that the Government is bent on converting them to Christianity at the point of the sword. The mass of the natives have not yet so far been enlightened as to guard it effectually against such misrepresentations and the overzealous Missionaries ought to exercise a great degree of prudence and discretion in which I fear

they are sadly deficient in discussing on religious topics. The Missionaries are much to be blamed for this ill feeling fostered.

I often hear this Government unjustly blamed by the Missionaries in permitting the practice of Churruk Poojah and other Hindoo rites. On the British assuming this Government, they found the Hindoo religion richly endowed, and when the lands fell into their possession, it was considered expedient that the profits should be appropriated for the purposes originally intended. On the extension of this empire a large portion of revenue was reserved for Hindoo worship, hence their appropriation to other purposes cannot be advocated by any man, who apprehends the spirit of this Government, or is alive to the best interests of the Indian world.

The Hindoos, however willing to receive the boon of knowledge, are feelingly alive to the employment of art or force to coerce them in their faith.

The Mahomedans equally so. Enlighten the mass, employ the mighty engine of education, and truth whatever that may be, whether to be found on the Baidis, Bible, or the Koran, must in the end prevail.

Yours faithfully,

Burrisal, April 17, 1857 Mooktar.

23 April 1857

ADDRESS TO CAPT. RICHARDSON

FROM THE STUDENTS

Honoured and Dear Sir,

We have heard with feelings of unmixed sorrow of your intended departure from India and our regret is the greatest as it is ill-health which compels you to quit these shores. ... You found our elders earnest in the discussion of plans, for the diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment among their sons and posterity, and all your sympathies immediately went forth with them. The result of your hearty co-operation was this noble foundation—the Hindoo Metropolitan College—the only national scholastic

Institution in the land. ...If ever we ought to be able to shew that the Hindoo mind is not at arid soil, that it has indeed profited from your noble precepts and example ; that your success in awakening its power and enlisting its sympathies on the side of whatever is true, generous and noble, is unequivocal....

FROM THE PROFESSORS AND MASTERS

... Your connection with the Institution since the day of its establishment in the capacity of its principal has been regarded as an event of paramount importance to its prosperity ; for while the reputation of your successful labors in the field of Literature and in the Government educational service, attract hundreds of youthful alumni to its walls within a short time after its foundation ; your zeal in the discharge of the arduous duties of your office, and your continued labors as a teacher have largely contributed to raise the College to that degree of public estimation which it has at present attained....

CAPT. RICHARDSON'S REPLY

Friends, Fellow Teachers, and Pupils—

You overwhelm me with your kindness. I wish I could tell you what I feel. But my feelings are strong while my words are weak. I feel as I ought but I cannot speak as I ought.These presents, though beyond my deserts, are in other respects appropriate. This clock—even in front of my desk—will make me take note of time. “We take no note of time” says Young, “but by its loss. To give it then a tongue is wise in man.” And the small tongue of this beautiful mechanical mentor, will very distinctly tell that loss every quarter of an hour, and assist me to economize the day as it is passing over me.

The public press here has been very generous to me and has done me high honour, but no commendation it has bestowed on me has touched me so nearly as the praise of having taught my pupils to love me—I need not say how thoroughly that good feeling is reciprocated. More docile, more affectionate, more

industrious, or more brilliant pupils no teacher could desire....

It is painful to me to say farewell—

A word that must be and hath been

A sound that makes us linger—yet Farewell.

24 April 1857

**THE REV. MR. DALL, MR. GEORGE THOMPSON,
AND THE YOUNG MEN'S IMPROVING SOCIETY**

Dear Sir,

Your today's issue contains what purports to be a report of the late anniversary meeting of the "Young Men's Improving Society". As the president of that society, allow me to say that the report conveys a mis-impression of what was said and done; and would have had its errors corrected if it had been submitted to the inspection of the society's officers. As you have been led to remark, in a brief editorial, upon one of those errors—and to give it undeserved confirmation, will you allow me to state, as concisely as I can, what was said and done upon the occasion. As appointed, our exercises were to consist of two essays by members, and some remarks from Mr. George Thompson. As Mr. Thompson was unexpectedly prevented from attending, the actual exercises were the two essays and some off-hand remarks upon each, by the president. The first paper was upon the civilization of the ancient Hindoos. As its close, the ground was taken by the president that they were the infants and we the ancient: The great distinction between those times and these, being the value that is now set upon a Man. For which truth we are indebted to Christianity. We now regard the individual man, as a being of progress and an immortal child of God....

Half an hour's remarks to this effect are given to the public in the Hurkaru in the words "The president then spoke something on the quality of man": but perhaps that was as correct a report as was to be expected.

The interest of the meeting seems—at least with the public—

to have turned upon the second essay, on what is called the Black Act. It is correctly said in your report, that the president "lamented the absence of Mr. Thompson", as he certainly did ; for more reasons than one ; if that one had been simply that a portion of the audience had evidently come to hear him. But when it was added, within quotation marks that his absence was lamented as that of one "whose presence could at once have decided the question," the words are such that I did not utter. My remarks upon the "Black act" were to the following effect : That all that was asked by the natives of this country was perfect equality before the law. There was no Englishman, and there was no American, who did not advocate this great principle as the right of every man. It was the American principle. A majority of the people of the United States were determined that, ere long, even the enslaved negro should have it. The way to bring it about, was the great difficulty in America, as it was the great puzzle for Englishman legislating for India. I said—The burden of such testimony as has reached my ears concerning the Mofussil Courts in this country, is that they are so hedged in and choked up with all sorts of falsehood, corruption, and passion, that law cannot reach them. Until law is established there,—it is useless to talk of equality before it. Was there law, or no law, in the Mofussil Courts ? Put law and justice there, and Englishmen and all men of sense would rejoice to stand equally before it. Was it there ?—That was a question that I hoped, after a little longer residence in India, to be able to pronounce upon with a decided yes, or no. Were Mr. Thompson present, he would pronounce an opinion without hesitation : but, for myself, I demanded time to mature a decision upon a question so vital to India.

As, Mr. Editor, you glance at the closing sentence of your yesterday's editorial, you will see whether or not you were not innocently led to be a little unjust towards

Yours &c.

C. H. A. Dall.

15 May 1857

THE STATE OF THE POOR IN BENGAL

Dear Sir,

In your yesterday's paper mention is made of the death of a man from starvation in the stable in Jaun Bazar Street. I wonder many such victims are not daily reported. The adage "when misfortune comes, it dose not come alone", is verified in the case of the peasantry of Bengal. A cultivator of land producing rice, mustard seed, or any other crop or vegetable has in fact no sufficient rice at home to feed himself and family. He is pressed on every side by higher authorities, and if he chooses to withstand their demands, he is in the first place well lashed, and if still obstinate, is then necked over to his zemindar's kutcharee to await his further doom. This is the general run of the treatment he receives throughout the year in ordinary times : add to this, the present high state of the market and scarcity of things render his condition in actual destitution. Some old men say that they never witnessed such dearth in their lives : I cannot fully vouch for this statement, yet one thing is plain that, every article except the company's salt, has risen to double it usual value ; but the poor men's earnings have not proportionately increased. The servant who got 5 Rupees a month in the low market does not, I believe, receive a farthing more in the present high market. In order to meet his just but simple demands, he must have his pay raised to double its amount ; but this, it is to be lamented, is not the case, hence the penury of the laboring people.

If you are to go to the south Mr. Editor, for a day or two you will have the truth of these remarks brought home to yourself. There the peasantry, you will find, are half emaciated, having on one meal a day, and dwelling in almost pulled down huts.....

Please insert the above in a corner of your paper.

Yours truly,
Somebody.

18 May 1857

THE CALCUTTA LITERARY FREE DEBATING CLUB

At a meeting of the above Society held at the premises No 19, Ruttan Sarcar Garden's Street on Saturday last at 8½ p. m. Professor James Burges Esq., Joint President in the chair. Present, the Rev. T. Sandys, another Christian gentleman, Baboo Gour-doss Bysack and a number of school boys.

Professor Cowell commenced his lecture on the peculiar "interest" and results of the History of Greece....

At the close of the lecture the Vice President and ex-officio Secretary Baboo Kristo Doss Paul and the Rev. T. Sandys then spoke something on the merit and something on the similarity between the Histories of Greece and India. The Chairman then said that as the night was far advanced he would not detain them long and wished the assembly to go and digest what they have already taken as this was a lecture which is to be "chewed and digested."

He then proposed a vote of thanks, which was heartily responded to by all present, and the meeting broke up amidst loud cheers.

19 May 1857

THE EDUCATED NATIVES AND THE GOVERNMENT

Dear sir,

I think the intelligent portion of the Native community in Calcutta and its neighbourhood should, at this crisis, issue a manifesto without delay, expressive of its confidence in the Government and disabusing the popular mind of the unfounded and vague belief that the Government are concerned in any covert act against the religion or caste of the people. A declaration of this nature, extensively signed by well-informed native gentlemen, and widely circulated in Bengalee and Hindoostanee, might do a vast deal of good in allaying the mistrust of thousands of ignorant men, and in fixing the wavering allegiance of not a few of Her Majesty's misguided subjects.

I, as a native, conceive this to be an imperative duty in the present exigency ; and I shall be very glad if others will respond to this call promptly.

I put forward these few lines as a
Feeler.

P. S.—For your information I beg to enclose my name.
22 May 1857

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS (Editorial)

We hear that a plan proposed by Mr. Woodrow, Inspector of Education for Eastern Bengal, for the improvement of the Indigenous Vernacular Schools in his Division, has been approved of by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and that the Local Government has issued the necessary orders for carrying it into effect. Mr. Woodrow's plan is based upon the retention of the existing schools, which, however, are to be formed into circles, to each of which a teacher of a higher class is to be appointed, who shall afford instruction to the upper boys in each school superior to that which the Gooroomahasey or village master is competent to impart. The Gooroomahaseys are to be conciliated by pecuniary rewards of small amount proportioned to the number of boys of certain specified standards of attainment who may be found in their schools, and the tendency of the boys to leave school at an early age is to be overcome by small gratuities to those boys remaining at school who may possess a certain specified amount of knowledge in various branches of study. It has been estimated that the carrying out of the scheme will cost to Government Rs. 1,500 a month.

23 May 1857

THE EDUCATED NATIVES AND THE GOVERNMENT

Sir,

Your correspondent, A Feeler, should not be left alone. What he suggests for the intelligent natives to do, would be a capital thing for the present crisis. I think if, not only the educated, but also the influential and wealthy portion of the native community in and around Calcutta were to convene either a private or public meeting with the view of expressing their confidence in the British Government of India, it would tend to a great extent to allay the animosity of the sepoy mind. Let such natives convey their thanks and gratitude through the medium of the native press for the blessings and peace they are enjoying under the British Rule. Let them circulate papers in the form of letters both in Bengalee and Hindoostani, fully and plainly stating that the Government does not at all interfere with their religion or caste; that they had never witnessed the Government putting its hands to the conversion of a Hindu or a Mohamedan; that on the contrary, the Government deals very strictly in such cases....A circular to this effect, no doubt, would do a great deal of service in putting down the fright of the Bazar people. For I am told that, it is being talked among them that the Company Bahadoor will very soon order the Bazar shops to be closed, and Christians to open new ones instead to sell cooked victuals to the people. Therefore, besides what I have advised the native gentlemen to do, I would urge on the Government speedily to publish by drumbeating in every Bazar and corner of streets in and around Calcutta, that it has no such foolish purpose at heart, that the rumour afloat is only a rumour of the idle and the timid and that the privileges of its subjects will be as secure as ever.

May 22, 1857.

25 May 1857

Yours truly,
A feeler's friend.

FEMALE SCHOOL

We are glad to hear that the Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D., L. L. D., of the Free Church Institution, established a Female School on Monday in the neighbourhood of his Boy School at Nimtolah, in the house of Baboo Madhusudan Banerjee, opposite the house of the late Baboo Radhamadhab Banerjee.

28 May 1857

NATIVE CHARACTER

Sir,...Allow me....to the best of my poor ability, to submit a few characteristics of the natives, and to invite X to join us in studying the following traits of "native character"

Firstly. The Native's love of truth. Did any one hear of a native telling a lie, and "sticking to it?" No ! It is only young cadets, who know no manners, that would insinuate this—X and I well know that a native is truth itself !

Secondly. His love of decency. I will not waste time in enlarging on this ; though I am confident many of our young cadets might gain a valuable lesson, by closely imitating the scrupulous delicacy of the native (in thought as well as deed) in all that pertains to the habits of our daily life.

Thirdly. The honesty of the Native—which makes him scorn anything like underhand dealing—detest subterfuge and give a plain straightforward answer to any question. Can we illustrate this more strongly than by pointing to the readiness with which the Sephoys have declared as the sole cause of mutiny the introduction of the noxious cartridge.

Fourthly. The young cadet would do well to mark the feeling of gratitude, which pervades the mass of natives generally. ...

....In conclusion, I would observe, that the above are only a few points of native character, which at the present time suggest themselves most readily to my mind.

Yours
XX.

3 June 1857

THE HARE ANNIVERSARY MEETING

A meeting of the Natives was held in commemoration of the late David Hare, at half past seven o' clock in the evening on Monday last, at the residence of Baboo Santeeram Singh, Jorasanko.

Raja Kali Kisto Bahadoor in the Chair.

Present :—The Rev. H.A. Dall, Professor James Burgess, Mr. Lacroix, Roy Horrochunder Ghosh, Baboo Girish Chunder Ghosh, Baboo Kalee Churan Singh, Baboo Kristo Doss Paul and a few others.

The Chairman explained in Bengalee the object of the meeting.....

Baboo Kalee Churan Singh then read out an essay in the vernacular tongue recording the doings of the late Mr. Hare.

Mr. Dall described a book by an American author treating of absolute morals, which has already been translated into Bengalee by order of the Director of Public Instruction and which is shortly to be distributed.

Baboo Kristo Paul then remarked that the essayist as well as the gentlemen that commented on the essay, said nothing on "political education" and advanced some opinions of his own on the subject. He then proceeded to argue that boys might be trained in general morals without Christianity and adduced some doctrines that were common both to Christianity as well as Hinduism, which latter he said had in the present day degenerated from that pure Hinduism professed by their forefathers.

Another Baboo then remarked, that they were discoursing on a thing quite foreign to their present purpose, and that they were forgetting the memory of the dead in honour of whom they have met.

The Chairman then gave a notice that anyone writing the best biography of the Late Mr. Hare should be duly rewarded. The meeting then broke up at half past ten.

8 June 1857

THE PRESS IS GAGGED (Editorial)

We have heard with something akin to amazement of the Bill passed with so much unnecessary haste on Saturday last, and by which for twelve months to come, and probably longer, the Press is to be gagged. We cannot for one moment admit the necessity for such an extreme step even at the present time. The offensive articles referred to in the Governor-General's speech on the occasion as emanating from the native Press, were known long since, and the Government had the power of stopping them and punishing their authors without interference with the English journals. For our part we can say with truth that we have done our best to support the Government through the present crisis. Every article in any way tending to obstruct or hamper the executive has been studiously rejected. In the performance of our duties as public journalists we have been compelled occasionally to comment severely, but not unjustly, on what we considered instances of official ignorance or want of energy ; but nothing that ever entered our columns could by any ingenuity be construed as having a tendency in the slightest degree to do harm to the State. ...We find the Act proposed for one year, expressions are used indicating something very like an intention to create a permanent censorship, we should be wanting in duty to ourselves did we not enter our SOLEMN PROTEST again such an insidious attempt to choke public opinion. We now declare that as soon as the public order is restored and the length and breadth of this land brought wholly and solely under British rule, that we shall raise our voices against the principle of the Bill and call our fellow citizens to aid us hand and heart in its repeal. This we shall do without fear of pains, penalties, or punishment. Until then, however, we shall content ourselves with publishing in England in some of the leading journals our opinions on the events of the day....

15 June 1857

ANTICIPATION OF FAMINE

To Lord Viscount Canning Governor-General of India.

My Lord,—As a loyal and faithful subject of the British Government in India, and one deeply interested in the welfare of the public, chiefly of my countrymen, it becomes duty to point out your Lordship's attention to another obnoxious cloud which is now thickening dark on the horizon of Bengal of greater magnitude and consequence than that which has now absorbed all your thoughts, time, and attention—the open revolt and disaffection of the native Bengal Army—and which if now neglected, will be found instrumental to the outbursting of a tornado, not before long, affecting the lives not of a thousand but hundred of thousands, perfectly humble and unoffending.

Rice which sold at one Rupee the maund, is scarcely to be had at 2-8-0 the md. and is again daily rising.... So is the case with every other grain of daily consumption....

June 20, 1857.

A Plebian.

22 June 1857

EDITORIAL NOTES

I Bahadur Shah II (1775-1862)

He was a titular emperor only (1837-57), last of the Mughal rulers of India, the twenty-second in succession from Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India. Since the defeat of Shah Alam at Buxar in 1764, the East India Company virtually ruled the country, the preamble of all the proclamations being "the King's realm and the Company's rule." He was more interested in writing verses than in defending the honour and integrity of his country. He was therefore reduced to a puppet and his political sway did not extend beyond the Delhi fort. It should be remembered that the loyalty which the people of India, Hindus and Muslims, offered to Bahadur Shah was not to him as a person, but to the descendant of the great Mughals. Whenever there was a revolt in any cantonment, the first cry of the rebels was 'March to Delhi'. Even when the rebel army could not reach Delhi, they all proclaimed their allegiance to the Mughal Emperor.

Bahadur Shah was captured by Major Hudson. In January 1858 he was brought to trial on a charge of rebellion and complicity in the murder of Europeans and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He died in Rangoon on November 7, 1862.

II Nana Saheb (1820 -1859-60 ?)

Dhondopant, known as Nana Saheb, was an adopted son of the ex-Peshwa, Baji Rao II. He took a leading part in the revolt of 1857, and his aim was to restore the Maratha empire and proclaim himself Peshwa. At Bithur Nana was defeated by Havelock. He carried on a desultory struggle for some

time, harrasing the rear of the army of Havelock during his march towards Lucknow from Cawnpore (July 30, 1857). The real initiative of the struggle passed to Tantia Topi by that time. Nana was with Tantia and might have commanded a part of his troops, but after his defeat and flight from Cawnpore on December 6, 1857, there is no definite trace of Nana's activities. Sometime in 1859-60 he died in the jungles of Nepal. Although a reward of a lakh of a rupees was offered by Government for his capture, he was never caught.

III *Lakshmi Bai, Rani of Jhansi (1835 ? - 1858)*

When Lakshmi Bai's husband Gangadhar Rao, the ruler of Jhansi, died without issue in 1853, she was not permitted by the Governor-General in Council to adopt a successor. Her territory was annexed under the 'right of lapse' and a pension was offered. She fought bravely against Hugh Rose's seige of Jhansi, although she had to surrender the town and escape. Later Tantia Topi joined her and they sprang a surprise on Rose by capturing Gwalior. When Rose resumed his attack on the fort, the Rani fighting valiantly, was killed in action. Rose paid her a well-deserved tribute when he referred to her as "the best and bravest military leader of the rebels."

IV *Tantia Topi (1819 ? - 1859)*

Ramachandra Panduranga, alias Tantia Topi, was perhaps the ablest and bravest of all rebel military leaders, produced by the revolt of 1857. He was born of Maratha Brahmin family. During the revolt he was in the service of Nana Saheb, a co-fighter with the Rani of Jhansi, and for some time an independent leader. He was Commander at the battle of Bithur (August 1857), won by Havelock, after the recapture of Cawnpore. With the Gwalior Contingent, he made General Wyndham retreat from Cawnpore, but was defeated by Colin Campbell. With the Rani of Jhansi he was besieged by Hugh Rose, but escaped and collected a force of 20000 men which Rose dispersed. He retreated to Central India and was defeated by Brigadier

Robert Napier. Roving about like a fugitive in Central India, Rajputana and Bundelkhund for about ten months, he was betrayed into the hands of Captain Meade by his friend Man Singh. He was tried, convicted and executed on April 18, 1859.

V Mutiny at Barrackpur

"Barrackpur was one of the military stations in which the signs of the great military rebellion of 1857 first became apparent. Early in that year the excitement about the alleged pollution of the new cartridges had made itself felt in every cantonment, and on the night of February 27th, the 19th Regiment, stationed at Barhampur, being ordered for parade the following morning, and with a great fear upon them that they would be forced to use the obnoxious cartridges, seized upon the bells of arms and broke out in a tumult. The men, however, appeared more panic-struck than mutinous, and were induced to retire to their lines. On the following morning the regiment fell in on parade as usual, contrite and humble. But it was impossible to overlook the offence, and the regiment was accordingly ordered to Barrackpur to be disbanded.

"Four Native Infantry regiments were at that time stationed at Barrackpur,—the 2d Grenadiers, the 43d, the 34th, and the 70th. The station was commanded by Brigadier Charles Grant, the division being commanded by General John Hearsey. Many of the Sepoys believed there was a deliberate plot on the part of the English to destroy the caste of the native soldier. On the 28th January General Hearsey reported that an ill feeling was said to exist among the Sepoys at Barrackpur, in consequence of a report having been spread that they were to be forced to embrace the Christian faith. Incendiarism made its appearance in the station, and was clearly traced to the soldiery. A few days after the story of the greased cartridges first transpired, the telegraph station at Barrackpur was burnt down; and other fires, chiefly among the officers' bungalows, followed night after night. The suspicions and fears of the Sepoys increased every day, and General Hearsey endeavoured to restore confidence to their minds by a well-spoken and careful

address to the regiments of the brigade. His earnest words had a good effect upon the men for a time, but it was only transitory, and when they heard what had been done by the 19th at Barhampur, the excitement increased, and an impression got abroad that Government was gathering together a force of European cavalry and artillery, which would suddenly come upon them and destroy them. General Hearsey a second time addressed the regiments on parade on the 17th March ; but it was plain as the month drew to a close that the hopes which he once entertained of the speedy subsidence of the alarm would be disappointed."

VI Mangal Pandey

"On the 29th March, fresh excitement was created by the arrival of a small detachment of the 53d Europeans, who had come by water from Calcutta. One private of the 34th, named Mangal Pandey, inflamed by *bhang* seized his musket, left his hut, and calling upon his comrades to follow him if they did not wish to become infidels, ordered the bugler to sound the assembly, and fired his musket at a European sergeant-major, who came up on hearing the disturbance. The native officer and men on guard-duty of the 34th saw what was going on, but made no attempt to arrest the fanatic. Lieutenant Baugh, on hearing what had occurred, galloped to the spot, and was fired at by Mangal Pandey, the shot hitting his horse. A hand-to-hand conflict took place, in which the lieutenant was wounded, and would most probably have been killed, if a Muhammadan Sepoy had not seized the mutineer and held him till the officer got away. All this took place within a few yards of the quarter-guard, where a Native non-commissioned officer and twenty men were on guard. Numbers of excited Sepoys rushed up on hearing the firing, but with the exception of the Musalman, no man moved to assist his officer or to arrest the criminal, and some even struck the lieutenant when wounded on the ground. Meanwhile tidings of the tumult reached General Hearsey, who with several officers proceeded to the spot where the mutineer was pacing up and down with

his musket in hand. As the officers approached, Mangal Pandey turned his piece upon himself, and fell, wounded, when he was immediately secured and taken to hospital. The man recovered and both he and the native officer in charge of the guard were tried by court-martial, condemned, and hanged before all the troops in garrison, the former on the 8th and the latter on the 22d April."

—Condensed from J. W. Kaye's *A History of Sepoy War in India, 1857-58*, vol. I, pp. 266-69, 495 et seq.

W. W. Hunter : *Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. I, 24-Parganas, pp 84-85, 86-87.

VII *Mangal Pandey, the first martyr*

"Matters came to a head on March 29, when Mangal Pande, a sepoy of the 34th N. I., openly mutinied, single-handed. It was a strange phenomenon, and being the first act of open armed rebellion on the part of a sepoy, deserves a more particular notice.

"When, on receiving the information, the adjutant of the 34th, Lt. Baugh, arrived at the lines, he "saw a single sepoy, named Mangal Pandey, marching up and down in front of the quarter-guard, calling upon his comrades to join him, and strike a blow for their religion, and threatening to shoot the first European whom he saw." This was no mere idle threat, for as soon as he saw Baugh he fired at him. Baugh was unhurt but his horse fell. Then Baugh also fired, but missed. What followed is thus described by a high authority :

"Then began a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. The Mutineer drew his tulwar, and slashed the adjutant across his left hand and neck. The sergeant-major of the regiment rushed to support his officer ; but the sepoy was a match for them both. Hard by stood the guard of twenty sepoy looking on unconcerned ; and, when the sergeant-major shouted to their jemadar for aid, he made no attempt to bring them forward and even suffered them to strike their helpless officers with the butt-ends of their muskets. One man only, a Mahomedan named Sheikh Pultoo, came to help the struggling Europeans, and held the

mutineer while they escaped. Meanwhile, other European officers were hurrying to the spot. One of them, Colonel Wheeler of the 34th, ordered the guard to seize the mutineer : but no one obeyed him. Then Grant, the brigadier of the station, interposed his superior authority : but still the guard paid no heed. The solitary but successful mutineer was still taunting his comrades for allowing him to fight their battles unaided ; the British officers, their authority despised, were still looking helplessly on ; when their chief with his two sons rode up at a gallop to the ground. Indignantly he asked his officers why they had not arrested the mutineer. They answered that the guard would not obey orders. "Not obey orders", said Harsey, significantly pointing to his revolver ; "listen to me ; the first man who refuses to march when I give the word is a dead man. Quick, march !" Sullenly the guard submitted, and followed their master to arrest Mungul Pandey ; but he too saw that the day was lost, and in despair turned his musket against himself. He fell wounded ; but he did not save himself from a felon's death.' "

"Mangal Pande fully deserves the honour of the first martyr which posterity has given to him. But it is difficult to account for the attitude displayed by his comrades. They refused to join him openly and yet made themselves guilty of acts of commission and omission which deserved very stern punishment. But, strangely enough, they were very lightly punished. Mangal Pande and the Jamadar were tried and executed and the 34th N. I. like the 19th, were disbanded."

- R. C. Majumdar : *The Sepoy Mutiny and The Revolt of 1857*, Calcutta 1957, pp 46-47.

VIII General Order of the Governor-General

Here is the summing up of the evidence upon which the Governor-General had come to the conclusion that the conduct of the native officers and men of the 34th was "such as to destroy his confidence in them as soldiers of the State, and to call severe and exemplary punishment."

The mutinous Sepoy [Mangal Pandey—Ed.] was permitted to parade himself insolently before his assembled Comrades, using

menaces and threatening gestures against his officers without an attempt on the part of any to control him. No such attempt was made even when he had deliberately fired at the Serjeant-Major of the regiment.

None was made whereupon the appearance of the Adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, and after having reloaded the musket unmolested, the mutineer discharged it at that officer and shot his horse.

When the horse fell not a sign of assistance to Lieutenant Baugh was given either by the quarter-guard or by the Sepoy not on duty, although this took place within ten paces of the guard.

Owing the hand to hand conflict which followed between the mutineer and Lieutenant Baugh, supported by Serjeant-Major, Hewson, the men collected at the lines in undress, looked on passively, others in uniform and on duty joined in the struggle ; but it was to take part against their officers, when they attacked with butts of their muskets striking down the Serjeant-Major from behind and repeating the blows as he lay on the ground.

When the Adjutant, maimed and bleeding, was retiring from the conflict he passed the lines of his regiment and reproached the men assembled there with having allowed their officer to be cut down before their eyes without offering to assist him. They made no reply, but turned their backs and moved sullenly away. For the failure of the quarter-guard to do its duty, the Jemadar who commanded it has already paid the last penalty of death. In this guard consisting of twenty sepoys, there were four who desired to act against the mutineer ; but their Jemadar restrained them ; and when eventually the order to advance upon the criminal was given by superior authority the majority yielded obedience reluctantly.

In the above narrative, nothing is omitted that could make the story of the mutiny more effective.

—*Friend of India*, 14 May 1857.

1X *Karl Marx on the Indian Mutiny of 1857*

“With the conquest of Scinde and the Punjab, the Anglo-Indian Empire had not only reached its natural limits, but it had

trampled out the last vestiges of independent Indian states. All warlike native tribes were subdued, all serious internal conflicts were at an end, and the late incorporation of Oudh proved satisfactorily that the remnants of the so-called independent Indian principalities exist on sufferance only. Hence a great change in the position of the East India Company. It no longer attacked one part of India by the help of another part, but found it, self-placed at the head, and the whole of India at its feet. No longer conquering it had become the conqueror. The armies at its disposition no longer had to extend its dominion, but only to maintain it. From soldiers they were converted into policemen; 200,000 natives being curbed by a native army of 200,000 men, officered by Englishmen and that native army, in its turn, being kept in check by an English army numbering 40,000 only. On first view, it is evident that the allegiance of the Indian people rests on the fidelity of the native army, in creating which the British rule simultaneously organized the first general centre of resistance which the Indian people was ever possessed of. How far that native army may be relied upon is clearly shown by its recent mutinies, breaking out as soon as the war with Persia had almost denuded the Presidency of Bengal of its European soldiers. Before this there had been mutinies in the Indian army, but the present revolt is distinguished by characteristic and fatal features. It is the first time that sepoy regiments have murdered their European officers; that Mussulmans and Hindus, renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters; that "disturbances beginning with the Hindus, have actually ended in placing on the throne of Delhi a Mohammedan Emperor;" that the mutiny has not been confined to a few localities; and lastly, that the revolt in the Anglo-Indian army has coincided with a general disaffection exhibited against English supremacy on the part of the great Asiatic nations."

"The alleged cause of the dissatisfaction which began to spread four months ago in the Bengal army was the apprehension on the part of the natives lest the Government interfere with their religion. The serving out of cartridges, the paper of which was said to have been greased with the fat of bullocks

and pigs, and the compulsory biting of which was, therefore, considered by the natives as an infringement of their religious prescriptions, gave the signal for local disturbances. On the 22d of January an incendiary fire broke out in cantonments a short distance from Calcutta. On the 25th of February the 19th Native Regiment mutinied at Berhampore, the men objecting to the cartridges served out to them. On the 31st of March that regiment was disbanded ; at the end of March the 34th Sepoy Regiment, stationed at Barrackpore, allowed one of its men to advance with a loaded musket upon the parade-ground in front of the line, and after having called his comrades to mutiny, he was permitted to attack and wound the Adjutant and Sergeant-Major of his regiment. During the hand-to-hand conflict, that ensued, hundreds of sepoys looked passively on, while others participated in the struggle, and attacked the officers with the butt ends of their muskets. Subsequently that regiment was also disbanded. The month of April was signalized by incendiary fires in several cantonments of the Bengal Army at Allahabad, Agra, Ambala, by a mutiny of the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry at Meerut, and by similar appearances of disaffection in the Madras and Bombay armies. At the beginning of May an emeute was preparing at Lucknow, the Capital of Oudh, which was, however, prevented by the promptitude of Sir H. Lawrence. On the 9th of May the mutineers of the 3rd Light Cavalry of Meerut were marched off to jail, to undergo the various terms of imprisonment to which they were sentenced. On the evening of the following day the troopers of the 3d Cavalry, together with the two native regiments, the 11th and 20th, assembled upon the parade-ground, killed the officers endeavouring to pacify them, set fire to the cantonments, and slew all the Englishmen they were able to lay hands on. Although the British part of the brigade mustered a regiment of infantry, another of cavalry, and an overwhelming force of horse and foot artillery they were not able to move until nightfall. Having inflicted but little harm on the mutineers, they allowed them to betake themselves to the open field and to throw themselves into Delhi, some forty miles distant from Meerut. There they were joined

by the native garrison, consisting of the 38th, 54th and 74th regiments of infantry, and a company of native artillery. The British officers were attacked, all Englishmen within reach of the rebels were murdered, and the heir of the late Mogul of Delhi proclaimed King of India.

—*New York Daily Tribune*, No. 5065, of 15 July 1857.

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